THE SENATE RACES **PAUL R. WIECK**

THE NATION

OCTOBER 23, 1976 *60 cents*

KAI BIRD

Indira Above the Law
INDIA'S COURTS IN PERIL

THE BLACKMAIL FACTOR

Some of Our Plutonium Is Missing

BARBARA P. NEWMAN

THERAPY OR MIND CONTROL?
Congress Endorses Psychosurgery

SAMUEL CHAVKIN

HOUDINI UNMASKED / Robert Bamberg

8-77
The Sherrod Library
Periodicals Dept.
E.Tennessee St. Univ
Johnson City, Tn. 37601
OCT 18 1976
AG

ETSU LIBRARY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

prisoner of conscience

Lincoln, Neb.
Mr. P.R. Sarkar, a spiritual leader and social reformer, has been held as a prisoner of conscience by the Indian Government for more than four and a half years. Jailed without charges for more than six months, he was finally accused of conspiracy to commit murder. It would be an understatement to say that the evidence upon which this accusation rests is tenuous. Since the early 1960s, Mrs. Gandhi's government has severely harassed Sarkar and Ananda Marga, the social/spiritual organization he founded to promote the welfare of the people. This harassment became more intense as Sarkar refused to subdue his criticism of government corruption. . . .

Now that a verdict is imminent, the Indian Government must be made aware that this trial and its outcome are receiving international attention. If readers would like more information about Mr. Sarkar's case, they may contact the P.R. Sarkar International Defense Committee, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, Suite 929, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Roberta C. Goetsch

letter to the editor

New York City
Tom Lee, in his piece on cancer and the press ["Cancer's Front-Page Treatment," *The Nation*, Sept. 18] writes that "the American Cancer Society's science editor, Alan C. Davis, wrote in the March 1975 issue of the *Columbia Journalism Review* that 'Cancer is indeed one of the most curable diseases in the country.' "

Lee might have noted that Davis "wrote" it in the *Review* as a letter to the editor attacking a January/February 1975 *Review* article, "A Critical Look at Cancer Coverage," by Daniel S. Greenberg—who, like Lee, criticized the press for being too quick to accept the cancer establishment's claims of progress in cancer treatment.

R.C. Smith, Managing Editor
Columbia Journalism Review

Kissinger, con and pro

Missoula, Mont.
"Servants of the Power Club: The Henry Kissinger Model" by Roger Morris [*The Nation*, Sept. 25] is excellent. Morris makes it abundantly clear that in the final analysis, Kissinger has used whatever abilities he may have in the service of the Establishment.

Kissinger's recent safari to Africa is a case in point. Some uninformed Americans seem to believe that the great one went to Africa in order to help the blacks, in some humanitarian sense. Nothing could be further from the truth! . . .

Obviously, he's smart enough to know that in the end, the blacks are going to take over in that part of the world. And of course, the Soviet Union (and other Communist powers) hope to establish a power base among the African blacks—in fact, they have been working at it. Furthermore, southern Africa is rich in resources, particularly various kinds of minerals.

So what it amounts to is that he made the trip to Africa hoping to establish a power base among the future rulers of Africa so that the Wall Street operators whom Henry has consistently served can somehow get their hands on those mineral resources. . . .

William H. Fisher, Professor of Education
University of Montana

Pomona, N.Y.
Henry Kissinger is hardly the one-dimensional man whom Roger Morris sketches for your readership. A Secretary

(Continued on page 402)

EDITORIALS

Suppose He Meant It?

Let us make a radical assumption. Let us assume that it was no error, miscalculation, stumble or gaffe when President Ford said that Eastern Europe did not lie under the "domination" of the Soviet Union. Let us admit that this is what he believes and, more important, what he wants *us* to believe.

After all, Ford is a hardened cold warrior. How many times has he brought cheers from partisan audiences with talk about how the worthy Poles, Hungarians, Czechs, Ukrainians, Romanians, Bulgarians, East Germans, not to mention the Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians, are "ground under the heel of the Godless Communists," or some such language?

So it strains credulity beyond the breaking point to think that, in the heat of debate, he suddenly forgot this deathless truth—unless, of course, he suffered a sudden syncope under the TV lights in San Francisco. But if that medical accident were the explanation, he had plenty of time later to explain that he had simply misspoken—that he had left out the words "we don't concede that . . ." such a domination exists.

If Ford or his minions had thus quickly qualified his statement about the thirty-one-year-old harsh reality in Eastern Europe, the press would not have had a week in which to exercise every variant of the word "blunder." We would not have had that parade of synonyms march by as the national media men gloated over the melting away of the "ethnic" vote from the Republican column in November. But the recantation never really happened, despite some earnest weaseling. Although the noble and free spirit of that part of the world, granted to Russia as a condition for settling the status quo with Stalin in 1945, got its ritualistic tribute, that TV sentence still flaps like a banner in the political air. The President of the United States actually said on October 6: "There is no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe and there never will be under a Ford administration. . . . I don't believe that the Poles consider themselves dominated by the Soviet Union." (The official Communist Party newspaper in Poland, *Tribuna Ludu*, heartily thanked Ford for that one the day after the debate.)

And so what are we supposed to think that the President meant? Are we to believe that he accepts the Helsinki agreement of 1975 *au pied de la lettre*—that is, more than literally? Should we think that he accepts the status quo forever and a day, complacently, if not enthusiastically?

It is not entirely impossible. On the assumption that the President said what he meant to say, it follows that this administration is willing to do almost anything to preserve the "détente" which the President expediently expunged from his vocabulary when Ronald Reagan was snapping at his heels. Perhaps he knows something that we do not—that the world will burst into war unless we regularly endorse Russian hegemony in Eastern Europe, now and until kingdom come.

Now recall the Sonnenfeldt Doctrine. "Kissinger's Kis-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

singer," as he is known, the State Department counselor Helmut Sonnenfeldt, said earlier this year that American policy ought to "strive for an evolution that makes the relationship between the Eastern Europeans and the Soviet Union an organic one."

This statement was one of the more striking arguments for Kissinger's total global policy. The idea behind it was that, unless we assure Moscow that we will leave it secure and unchallenged in its "spheres of influence," we will be threatened in other parts of the world and, conceivably, directly challenged in war of the total sort. And so, goes this theory, we will play a very restrained hand, if we play any at all, in Eastern Europe. That is an arguable, if quite wrong, policy. In the middle and long range, we would do much better if we kept up the pressure on Russia to moderate its behavior in Europe, a concept which includes loosening the bonds that tie the satellites to its orbit.

The mystery remains: why did Ford choose the heat of campaign debate as the moment to announce a major new American foreign policy, and one that was bound to be unpopular with segments of the electorate vital to his election?

The answer must be that Gerald R. Ford has at last become a Statesman. He is ready to sacrifice his own career for the good of his country and for world peace. My country, right or wrong, he says. I would rather be right than President, he adds. It is a comforting thought, however grotesque the logic that leads to that absurd conclusion.

Keeping a Straight Face

We feel the need to be weighty and solemn about the Presidential campaign, but the task is beyond us. It is true that the American people will choose their Chief Executive, the "leader of the free world," on November 2. But with the incumbent of that high office giving an imitation of a transient Roman emperor of the third century A.D. and his challenger behaving like a middleweight boxer in a club fight, it is hard to strike the serious note.

Perhaps a Carter handler had the sporting parallel in mind when he said the other day that Ford had "boxed himself into a dilemma" with his bumble about Eastern Europe. Another of the Democrat's seconds declared that Ford's curious problems with his Michigan campaign contributions were his "nagging backache." The President might also be seeking "fast, fast relief" from the speculation about how, as House Minority Leader, he managed to get along on less than $5 a week in spending money.

As for Carter, an aide says he is "higher than a kite" since the second debate. In that lofty position, we are told, Carter is seeking not just victory but an actual "mandate." That vogue word means, of course, a big win, without which a President is supposed to be "paralyzed." Carter has been hunting for the elusive mandate in the streets of Chicago, where he outrageously flattered old Mayor Daley from whose crumbling machine he hopes for mechanical miracles at the polls. Another aide happily declares that Carter is "sprinting now," forgetting

The Sherrod Library
...ST TO...STATE UNIV...
...Tennessee

IN THIS ISSUE

October 23, 1976

EDITORIALS

386
390 Black on Black Crime: A Taboo Broken — *Peter Kovler*

ARTICLES

391 Indira Above the Law: India's Courts in Peril — *Kai Bird*
393 Year of the Image: Form Sheet on the Senate Races — *Paul R. Wieck*
396 The Blackmail Factor: Some of Our Plutonium Is Missing — *Barbara P. Newman*
398 Therapy or Mind Control? Congress Endorses Psychosurgery — *Samuel Chavkin*

BOOKS & THE ARTS

407 Meyer: Houdini: A Mind in Chains
The Amazing Randi and Sugar: Houdini: His Life and Art
Reynolds, Charles and Regina: 100 Years of Magic Posters — *Robert D. Bamberg*
408 Schneider and Korot, eds.: Video Art — *Jonathan Price*
410 Film Festival I — *Harold Clurman*
411 The Specialist (poem) — *Anne S. Perlman*
412 Nurse (poem) — *Sandra M. Gilbert*
413 Films — *Robert Hatch*
414 Indigenous Music — *Nat Hentoff*

Publisher
JAMES J. STORROW Jr.

Editor
BLAIR CLARK

Associate Publisher
LINDA EDER STORROW

Executive Editor
ROBERT HATCH

Literary Editor
ELIZABETH POCHODA

Contributing Editor
EMILE CAPOUYA

Copy Editor, MARION HESS; Poetry Editor, GRACE SCHULMAN; Theatre, HAROLD CLURMAN; Art, LAWRENCE ALLOWAY; Music, DAVID HAMILTON; Dance, NANCY GOLDNER; Architecture, JANE HOLTZ KAY.

Washington, ROBERT SHERRILL; U.N., ANNE TUCKERMAN; Latin America, PENNY LERNOUX; London, RAYMOND WILLIAMS; Paris, CLAUDE BOURDET; Bonn, C. AMERY; Jerusalem, HERBERT KROSNEY; Canberra, C. P. FITZGERALD.

Former Editors: EDWIN LAWRENCE GODKIN; OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD; FREDA KIRCHWEY; CAREY McWILLIAMS.

The Nation is published weekly (except for first week in January, and bi-weekly in July and August) by the Nation Company and copyright 1976 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10014. Tel: CH 2-8400. Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y.

Subscription Price: One year, $21.00; two years, $37.00. Add $1 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; $2 other foreign.

Change of Address: It is essential that subscribers ordering a change of address give four weeks' notice and provide their old as well as their new address. Please give Zip Code numbers for both addresses.

Manuscripts. All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelopes.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Book Review Index and the Public Affairs Information Service.

THE NATION

Volume 223
No. 13

OCT 19 '76

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

about tortoises and hares and the length of the track still ahead.

Thus the language of the campaign is mostly from sports, and the candidates behave as if they were in an arena. The issues get lost in the dust from that kind of contest. One has to remind oneself—because Ford and Carter neglect to do it—that there really are serious matters at stake. Domestically, they are, of course, mostly economic, having to do with a fair and efficient organization of the productive life of this country and the proper distribution of its wealth. The Democratic platform, now a rather ghostly presence in the campaign, is quite good on those matters. From the Republicans, whose economic planks are what you would expect, we hear nonsense like Presidential adviser Alan Greenspan's recent comment that the "trend still looks pretty much intact."

The campaigns of the major party candidates are so trivial, so lacking in substance, that one turns to the japes and capers of the independent Eugene McCarthy for at least comic relief. Unfortunately, perhaps, there is no real relief in that quarter. We are left with the choice between Ford and Carter. On the basis of platform and the nature of the parties, it has to be Carter, mandate or not.

Red Herrings

The assassins of Orlando Letelier may have committed the perfect crime, perfect, that is, in the sense that it won't be solved. It begins to look more and more as though the tracks are being covered by the very agencies of the United States Government whose task it formally is to hunt down the murderers of this distinguished Chilean refugee and his American assistant, Ronni Moffitt. What better protection could the men who put a bomb in Letelier's car possibly have than the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States?

Joseph Kraft, the columnist, and other Washington "insiders" will doubtless look on this statement as an irresponsible and unsupported charge, but then it was Kraft who sternly wrote that Governor Carter had no business flatly saying that the United States Government took part in the overthrow of the Allende government—which is as nearly provable a fact as one can find in the realm of this country's foreign relations.

We are provoked into making the charge of CIA cover-up by a number of newspaper stories out of Washington in the past few days. They have the unmistakable earmarks of CIA inspiration, and they all point away from any connection with these murders on the part of the present military dictatorship of Chile. As we and others have repeatedly remarked, the Chilean junta is the group with the clearest motive for doing away with Letelier, and the record shows that murder is its second nature.

On October 9 *The Washington Post* carried a story headed "CIA Aiding Investigation of Letelier Slaying." It told how CIA Director George Bush had met with Justice Department officials handling the investigation of this political assassination in our national capital. The presumption was that Bush was there to "aid" the effort, but that idea must be questioned in the light of the last paragraph of this account, which we quote in full: "Some officials are already raising the prospect that investigators may eventually solve the murder, but be unable to prosecute the assassins. The perpetrators, they say, may be outside the United States and, in addition, prosecution might lead to disclosure of sensitive intelligence information that the CIA would insist on keeping secret."

Whether or not this story reflects with complete accuracy the intentions of the U.S. Government, the implication is clear that the federal authorities have not given top priority to the task of finding and punishing the murderers. The *force majeure* needed to keep up good relations with our "friends" in the Chilean junta, and to hide our intelligence links with that dreadful regime, obviously come first in Washington.

The signs are abundant that the U.S. Government, through that Presidential agency, the CIA, is trying to divert suspicion from the Pinochet government. *The New York Times* of October 11 had a story which began with, "Administration intelligence officials said today that the most promising lead developed in the Washington bomb killing of Orlando Letelier, the former Chilean Foreign Minister, involved Cuban exile extremists."

So that is the line the CIA is floating. Not being privy to the secrets of the intelligence services, one can view this "lead" only with a profound suspicion based on recent history and the logic of motivation. Obviously, the American intelligence apparatus is intimately connected with Cuban right wingers; for evidence, it is enough to recall the Cubans who took part in the Watergate burglary in June 1972. But why, one must ask, would their 1976 equivalents want to kill a Chilean dissident, unless they were put up to the job by the Chilean dictatorship?

The CIA is also advancing another, quite different, hypothesis, one even less plausible but also serving to take the heat off the one outfit with a real motive to kill Letelier. It is that the murder was committed by some Latin American leftists in an internal struggle on the Left. The trouble with that one is that Letelier was not a factional leftist; he was, in fact, a rallying point for a coalition including the Chilean Christian Democrats that might some day (with our blessing, of course) replace the brutal and grossly incompetent dictatorship that now rules Chile.

There is something all wrong with the information we are being fed on this matter. The Institute for Policy Studies, where Letelier worked, is asking three pertinent questions; they demand answers that are not being given. One is, what do the records of electronic surveillance of the Chilean Embassy in Washington show (we routinely do that, as everyone knows, to most foreign embassies)? Another is, what do the National Security Agency's cable and phone intercepts of the traffic between Santiago and Washington reveal (that is another of our official habits)? And, finally, what do the records of the CIA and the FBI show about what the investigation has turned up so far? It could be quite different from what has been leaked to the press.

Without that kind of information, all of us are entitled to the darkest suspicions about what the U.S. Government is doing to obtain, or conceal, the truth about this

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shameful assassination. It may be thought that the curtain of secrecy has been lifted a bit, but all that has come out is more dust in our eyes.

Cesar's Proposition

Down the years initiative proposals have often added an element of complexity and confusion to California's always volatile politics. This year the ballot carries fifteen propositions—rather a low number by California standards—but only one is of major interest, Proposition 14, which would repeal the Agricultural Labor Relations Act and adopt it as an initiative proposal, thus putting it beyond the power of the legislature to amend. One of the problems with the existing Act has been the refusal of the legislature—responding to grower pressure—to fund it properly. Proposition 14 would mandate the legislature to appropriate such amounts to the board "as may be necessary to carry out" the law, but no one knows precisely what this means. At the moment it is a toss-up whether the measure will carry, but it has been a key issue in this year's election and the campaign that centers on it has assumed some interesting aspects.

In a period of twenty-nine days the United Farm Workers secured 720,000 signatures to the initiative petition: a phenomenal achievement. Perhaps 50 per cent of the signatures were obtained in Los Angeles County. It is apparent that the enthusiasm for Cesar Chavez is undiminished, and equally that the political organization which the union and its allies have put together is a thing of beauty. But can it turn out the votes in November with the efficiency it demonstrated in the signature drive? On the other side, the grower interests have spent more than $900,000 in an all-out drive to defeat Proposition 14. Japanese-Americans are being used to spearhead the opposition, on the theory that they will give it a "dirt farmer," grass-roots quality. Thus Harry Kubo, president of the Nisei Farmers' League, is chairman of the "No-on-14" Committee, and S.I. Hayakawa, Republican nominee for the U.S. Senate, strongly opposes the measure. This artless camouflage is not likely to deceive many voters as to the identity of the large-scale corporate farming interests that are behind the opposition and it may well offend many of the younger Nisei.

Not long ago the state Supreme Court in a 4-to-3 decision upheld the "access" provisions of the present Agricultural Labor Relations Act. These provisions give a limited number of union representatives a narrowly defined right of access to grower-owned or leased properties to interview farm workers at specified times. The U.S. Supreme Court has declined to review the state court decision, and that pretty much disposes of the growers' contention that the "access" provisions are unconstitutional. But they now contend that the initiative should be defeated because, if adopted, it would not be subject to amendment by the legislature.

Politically, the Proposition 14 campaign has taken some interesting twists and turns. Sen. John Tunney, "running scared," has now endorsed it. Governor Brown strongly supports the measure; he is, of course, largely responsible for the original legislation. Governor Carter, after some initial waffling, is for it. Organized labor actively backs the measure; at the moment it badly needs the reflected glow of idealism from Chavez and the UFW. Oddly enough, the Teamsters recently endorsed Proposition 14, perhaps as a "clever" ploy—on the assumption, that is, that voters might be inclined to vote "no" to any proposition the Teamsters favored. Or the argument may have been that an endorsement would brighten the union's badly tarnished image. The influential McClatchy newspapers—*Sacramento Bee, Modesto Bee, Fresno Bee*—have recommended a "no" vote, which helps the opposition in the San Joaquin Valley. The measure could be a factor in the Tunney-Hayakawa and Carter-Ford contests, if it brings out, as it well may, a larger vote than has been anticipated. Recently more than 2,000 students registered to vote on the Stanford campus, most of them at tables sponsored by the UFW. The momentum of this drive and the demonstrated excellence of the UFW organization give the proponents a slight edge; but initiative measures automatically draw a large "no" vote and the power of the opposition is formidable. Should Proposition 14 carry, it will be something of a miracle, but then Chavez and the farm workers have been performing miracles for years.

Actually, the existing legislation has worked better than might have been expected. Some 44,000 workers participated in the 414 elections which the board conducted, with minimum friction, before it ran out of funds. Of these, the UFW won 192, the Teamsters 119, other unions 19, "no union" 25, and 59 are still in dispute. There are many more farm workers than have voted to date but it will take time to organize them. Even so, the fact that 44,000 workers have voted in supervised elections, that the results of these elections have been certified, that collective bargaining has resulted, and that some forty or fifty contracts have been signed, is a remarkable achievement. In a sense, this is a better record of accommodation and acceptance than was scored under the National Labor Relations Act when it was first adopted in the 1930s. Should Proposition 14 be defeated, the existing legislation will remain on the books and in next year's legislative session the appropriation which the board will request will be considered as part of the full budget and not, as happened the last time around, as a supplemental appropriation. It will, therefore, be less easy to cut. So regardless of the outcome, California seems to be slouching toward the millennium—namely, a rational, civilized, orderly system of collective bargaining in agriculture after decades of embittered controversy.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

Steve Murdock

Many *Nation* readers will be saddened to learn of the death of Steve Murdock in Ashland, Ore. on October 3. For years one of the most respected labor reporters in San Francisco, Murdock was a frequent *Nation* contributor for a decade or more and served for three years as editor of *1199 News*, the publication of District 1199 Drug and Hospital Workers in New York. A memorial service has been scheduled at the ILWU hall in San Francisco for October 30 and messages may be sent to the union at 1188 Franklin Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94109.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Black on Black Crime: A Taboo Broken

Peter Kovler

In 1967, for the first time, the facts were presented on the phenomenon of black on black urban ghetto crime. At that time the President's Commission on Crime revealed that most crime in this country is intra-racial, and that "it is Negro males and females who are most likely to be victimized in crimes against the person." The commission used Chicago as an example, saying that a black man in that city ran "the risk of being a victim nearly six times as often as a white man." For the black woman, the likelihood of being a victim was nearly eight times greater than for the white woman.

Unfortunately, according to the latest crime statistics by race, the situation has not improved. Blacks are still disproportionately the victims of crime, most of it still committed by other blacks. Seven years after the President's report, the murder statistics for Chicago told a similar story: in 1974, 803 blacks were killed as compared to 127 whites. (In the 1970 census, blacks comprised about 20 per cent of the Chicago population; today it is perhaps somewhat higher.)

Until recently, however, few would publicly mention the subject. Blacks and liberal whites rarely spoke of it, largely because of the fear that conservative whites could use it as "material" for their fight against civil rights. Blacks who did call for "law and order" in their own communities were immediately labeled "Uncle Toms." Liberal whites who even mentioned the subject were accused of a sort of "pull 'emselves up by their bootstraps" racism. In fact, the only people who seemed to come near the problem, publicly, were Nixon and his gang. But they simply used "law and order" as code words to attract the votes of frightened whites.

There were only two settings where black on black crime was discussed. The first place was in the ghettos, where talk was confined to church gatherings and infrequent, informal and unorganized block club/police meetings. The second place was in the private conversations of the genuine white racists (not the "unconscious" ones), people who could say things like "they're all animals."

Now, within the past few months, attitudes have begun to change; many have begun to speak openly about the problem. People from the inner cities of New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, etc., are saying that a top priority for blacks is to stop black on black crime. It is also significant that these voices have risen independently, not in response to a major policy change on the part of a major national group such as the NAACP or SCLC.

In Harlem, for example, the only community newspaper, the *Amsterdam News*, has begun its fight *(1)* by highlighting the problem through articles and editorials; *(2)* by cleaning up certain "target areas" that had been taken over by drug addicts; *(3)* by forming a sort of Dodge City posse, Citizens Action for a Safer Harlem, that has already managed to drive the junkies and pushers from a street that *Life* once called the worst in the country.

The National Urban League has also begun to call attention to the problem. The director of its "Administration of Justice" division, Robert Woodson, recently told a House committee: "The facts and figures on crime in America are harsh realities for the black community: Criminal homicides, perpetrated by blacks on blacks, is particularly severe. . . . Of an estimated 1,500 homicides committed in New York City in 1974, 545 of the victims were black; sixty-seven of these victims were slain by whites or members of other racial groups."

From Chicago, Rev. Jesse Jackson is now preaching and writing about the same sort of problem. While he emphasizes "black self-development," a large part of his message is for blacks to stop "the decadence in black communities." The head of the National Urban Coalition, M. Carl Holman, has a similar message: "The rest of society has made it clear to blacks that it's your community and we don't give a damn about it," he says. "We're trying to get past some of the scare tactics and down to the reality of crime." The NUC has also given a great deal of financial support to inner-city anti-crime efforts.

In addition, the executive director of The Woodlawn Organization, the most influential community group on Chicago's murderous and black South Side, says: "Black people are more concerned with safety than with the connotations of racism at this point." That *Ebony* has given its support is shown by a recent complimentary article on A. Reginald Eaves, the Marshal Dillon of Atlanta; and black Rep. John Conyers of Michigan is pushing for legislation that would fund ghetto community anti-crime programs.

There are, of course, dangers in this new approach. The main one, according to black columnist William Raspberry, "is that society could read this as an exoneration and we could start all over again with the 'blaming the victim' syndrome." But perhaps the most important question to be raised by this new movement is, will it work? Will it help to decrease crime? So far, there is little evidence one way or the other. The 1976 crime rates appear to be similar to those of previous years. Yet it must be said that at this point the campaigns against black on black crime are for the most part at the talking or planning stage; few specific programs have been implemented.

This seems to be especially upsetting to the Urban League's Woodson. Although he does not deny the need to attack the "root causes" (poverty, unemployment, discrimination, inadequate housing, education and health care), he seems to be a strong advocate of black community anti-crime programs. The funding of such programs, he says, has been difficult because the government has failed "to recognize the enormous potential for community involvement in crime control and prevention." He adds: "The 'war on crime' has been one of the few battles in our history in which the black community has not been enlisted."

Peter Kovler is a free-lance writer in Washington.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INDIRA ABOVE THE LAW

INDIA'S COURTS IN PERIL

KAI BIRD

Sweat glistened from the agitated face of lawyer N.A. Palkhivala. The small Victorian courtroom was packed with more than 150 spectators who had come to see him perform. The lawyer with the disheveled wiry hair and quick, nervous eyes had defended Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in her famous election case, right up until the emergency was proclaimed. Now Palkhivala would perform again—but this time defending a fellow lawyer from the now arbitrary powers of Mrs. Gandhi.

Two justices of the Bombay High Court entered the room; they wore the stiff white collars and rumpled black robes of the Indian judiciary. Life-size portraits of past justices—both white-skinned and brown—peered from the walls. In the streets below young businessmen carrying leather briefcases hurried to their offices past sidewalk vendors, beggars and coolies pulling enormous wooden carts loaded with goods from the nearby port district. None of them would ever hear or read about what went on in the courtroom above them—under Mrs. Gandhi's "emergency," political opinions are safely uttered only within the confines of the courtroom.

Palkhivala rose from his creaky swivel chair to address Chief Justice R.M. Kantawala:

> My Lord, I believe the state of emergency proclaimed by the central government so many months ago should be withdrawn and democracy restored. Should my client be deprived of his liberty for uttering the same opinion at a lawyer's convention in the state of Kerala?
>
> My Lord, if the court should allow one of their own profession to be illegally deprived of his liberty, what will be the government's next step? Are they to arrest me for what I say today before this very court?
>
> My Lord, it is the right of any citizen to dissent peacefully, even under the emergency. But if the chairman of the Bombay Bar Council, Mr. Ram Bulchan Jethmalani, cannot express his opinions in public then who can?

In what was to be one of the Indian judiciary's last acts of independence, the Bombay High Court in early April 1976, issued an injunction against the detention of one of Mrs. Gandhi's most outspoken critics. In this unprecedented case Palkhivala, K.S. Cooper, A.G. Noorani and more than 140 other Bombay lawyers managed to delay the detention of Jethmalani for more than four months. The delay gave Jethmalani time to leave the country. In late August he was granted political asylum in the United States—the first to be so rescued since Mrs. Gandhi imposed a state of emergency in June 1975.

Exile is an option for the privileged few in India. The Jethmalani case is the only instance where the judiciary successfully intervened to block a detention. There is no way to determine accurately the number of political prisoners currently detained in India. The Supreme Court's April 28, 1976 decision, which eliminated all habeas corpus rights, also determined that information pertaining to the welfare, number and location of detainees is "confidential" and "a matter of state." Six months ago at least 100,000 Indian citizens had been detained under the emergency, but as it became institutionalized Mrs. Gandhi's confidence grew, and some observers now estimate that the number of political prisoners has doubled. Even the most active leader in the underground opposition, Socialist Party M.P. George Fernandez, has been arrested. Fernandez, who is charged with organizing a "bombing conspiracy," was picked up in Calcutta last May. According to Amnesty International, there are at least 20,000 political prisoners in West Bengal alone—traditionally one of the more politically troublesome states for Mrs. Gandhi's regime. Everyone now knows that political dissent inevitably means jail.

More than any other sector of India's urban population, lawyers—and the Indian judiciary—have steadily opposed the erosion of democracy and fundamental rights. The only effective opposition to Mrs. Gandhi has been mounted in the courts, and throughout the emergency the Prime Minister has cautiously but inexorably fought to deprive the courts of their independence. Mrs. Gandhi's slide toward dictatorial rule began in 1969 with the breakup of Nehru's Congress Party coalition. It culminated with Mrs. Gandhi's near-absolute political victory in the aftermath of the Bangladesh war in 1971. At that time she co-opted the extreme Right and literally shattered the ranks of the Left with assassination squads and wholesale political detentions.

The attack on the judiciary's integrity began in 1973, two years before the emergency, when Mrs. Gandhi appointed A.N. Ray as chief justice of the Supreme Court. Ray, clearly a political appointee, was promoted over the heads of three justices whose seniority was greater. They resigned in protest at this break with an established judicial practice.

The emergency itself was necessary only because the independence of the judiciary threatened Mrs. Gandhi's personal political career. By the time the Ahmedabad election case barred the Prime Minister from holding political office for the next six years, the political threat to Mrs. Gandhi's regime had waned. J.P. Narayan's disparate coalition of dissidents had already foundered on its own internal inconsistencies. The political turmoil of the preceding months provided an excuse, but the emergency was necessary only because the courts had caught Mrs. Gandhi breaking the law.

At issue when the emergency was declared was more than the narrow, technical election misdemeanor. India was at a crossroads in determining a set of economic

---

Kai Bird, who grew up in India, was a stringer there for the Chicago Daily News *and the* Far Eastern Economic Review *(Hong Kong).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

priorities and the means to achieve them. The suspension of fundamental rights under the emergency has allowed Mrs. Gandhi and her faction within the Congress Party to approach problems such as population control, slum clearance, beggary, industrial stagnation, labor agitation and food hoarding with an iron hand. The courts had previously interfered with Mrs. Gandhi's harsh approach to these issues.

Before the emergency the courts could and did issue injunctions against the indiscriminate bulldozing of slum

Don Hesse, St. Louis Globe-Democrat

settlements. Today, hundreds of thousands of poor slum dwellers have been pushed out of their homes in Bombay, Calcutta and New Delhi, to make way for clean and empty space. These urban beautification projects are sometimes personally supervised by the Prime Minister's powerful son, Sanjay Gandhi. Much to the benefit of Mrs. Gandhi's urban middle-class constituency, India's cities really do appear more ordered and less crowded. Industrial workers and the unemployed living in the shantytowns have at present no recourse to the courts. While both corporate and income taxes on the wealthy were recently cut, wages are effectively frozen and strikes are illegal.

On the population issue Mrs. Gandhi has used the emergency to institute a de facto policy of mandatory sterilization after the third child. The sterilization laws will provide a legal framework for mass sterilization of slum dwellers, factory workers and helpless peasants. [See Bird: "Sterilization in India: Indira Gandhi Uses Force," *The Nation*, June 19.] Presented with a set of proposed constitutional amendments, it is almost certain that the courts will uphold the mandatory sterilization laws over any consideration for fundamental rights (the rough equivalent in the Indian constitution of the American Bill of Rights).

The emergency has freed Mrs. Gandhi to apply arbitrary and forced solutions to India's problems, and it is the poor, the illiterate, the slum dwellers and the peasants who normally bear the brunt of this kind of simplistic rule. Despite all the talk one hears about democracy being "meaningless" in a nation of 600 million peasants, the democratic "charade," and particularly the courts, did protect India's poor from the Procrustean solutions chosen by the present regime.

Therefore, with the opposition behind bars, the political contest in India during the last year has been between Mrs. Gandhi and the courts. The lower courts, and particularly the 200 High Court (state supreme court) justices, had shown themselves unwilling to adopt the authoritarian tone of Supreme Court Chief Justice Ray. The Bombay High Court ruled on December 16, 1975, that Bombay municipal injunctions against the right of peaceful assembly were illegal. The case arose when a number of leading city lawyers, including Jethmalani and Palkhivala, attempted to hold a public meeting to discuss the emergency. The government appealed the Bombay High Court decision and the meeting never took place.

Again, in late January of this year, the Bombay High Court demonstrated its determination to uphold fundamental rights by issuing an injunction against the arrest of Jethmalani by Kerala police. The court and six other state supreme courts consistently upheld habeas corpus writs in detention cases during this period.

Last spring, the Gujarat High Court granted an appeal by a Gujarati journal, the *Bhoomi Putra*, against the chief censor of the state. The court interpreted the pre-censorship order of the government of India (promulgated June 26, 1975) to cover only those news reports which the government could prove incited to violence or public disorder. It struck down sections (d) and (e) of the order pertaining to news reporting on the emergency, the suspension of fundamental rights, and detention orders. This judgment restored the journal's right to print and severely limited the chief censor's authority.

Outraged, and threatened by such displays of judicial insubordination, Mrs. Gandhi has launched herself at the courts. More than a dozen dissenting justices currently face arbitrary transfers to more conservative benches. The integrity of the entire judicial system is rapidly being diluted by early retirements and blatantly political appointments. But more threatening in the long run to the integrity of the Indian judiciary is a set of sweeping constitutional amendments recently introduced. These innovations, which are currently being aired in "public debate," drastically restrict the judicial review powers of the courts. The Supreme Court will have no

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

power to declare unconstitutional any amendment to the constitution passed by Parliament. The President, who will now be legally subservient to the Prime Minister, can promulgate constitutional amendments for two years before ratification by Parliament is necessary. Another amendment will require a two-thirds majority of the Supreme Court to overturn a law already on the books. (This grants double weight to the views of justices who support the status quo.) A body of "directive principles" —a vague statement of Mrs. Gandhi's commitment to social reform—will have legal priority over any constitutional protection of individual rights. The last restraints on Mrs. Gandhi's authoritarian regime will be removed.

A.G. Noorani, a Bombay lawyer and legal historian, wrote several months ago: "Repeated assurances that the parliamentary system will remain skirt the central issue: What kind of parliamentary system will India have? It matters not whether the form of government is presidential or parliamentary if the net result is an accretion of executive power and a drastic curtailment of remedies available to the citizen against its abuse."

Men like Noorani, Palkhivala and Jethmalani are hard to find in India today and their number grows steadily smaller. Worse still, they have no political base or social contact with India's poor—who bear the brunt of dictatorship. □

YEAR OF THE IMAGE

Form Sheet on the Senate Races

PAUL R. WIECK

Washington

"I'd rather vote for a conservative than a liberal crook." A teenager who'll cast his first vote next month spoke thus in a recent heated debate with his parents, both longtime liberal activists, on their state's Senatorial contest. The parents had no answer. They weren't ready to dispute their son's contention; however, they'd decided to stick with their Senator because "he votes the way we want him to." Nor is their experience an isolated one. It's happening all over the country in arguments about candidates of both parties, and it's blurring the traditional guidelines which used to make politics a bit more comprehensible and closely fought races easier to plot.

The teenager was reminding us we're still in the post-Watergate era of the "politics of morality"—a time when a lot of voters have put aside the traditional pocketbook issues which used to dominate all politics because of their heightened awareness of personal morality. That conflict between the old, familiar guidelines and the new awareness has made a candidate's image far more important than at any time since the electronic media began to dominate politics. This year, it could be a crucial factor in a dozen or more Senatorial contests, and in the Presidential battle itself, if one may judge by the reaction to the first couple of debates.

It has made it far more difficult for the party "pros" to predict the outcome, though in any case it would be tough to call thirty-three Senate contests that are going on simultaneously from coast to coast at a time when the Presidential race hangs in the balance and a large segment of voters are saying they're undecided. In the words of a top GOP official: "We could pick up eight Senate seats or we could lose eight," but "my hunch is neither party will gain or lose more than a couple." His Democratic counterpart would agree.

Twenty-five incumbents—seventeen Democrats and seven Republicans, plus one independent—are seeking another term, and it's in this group that both parties are finding most of their "image" problems.

The GOP prospects for picking up additional seats is a case in point. Of the five races they'd targeted by October—Indiana, Missouri, California, New Mexico and Utah—four involve Democratic incumbents and three of them (Vance Hartke in Indiana, John Tunney in California and Joseph Montoya in New Mexico) have serious image problems of one sort or another. (The same is true of several GOP candidates; J. Glenn Beall of Maryland, Sam Steiger of Arizona and William Brock of Tennessee are in trouble.)

Montoya's race in New Mexico is an almost classic study. Here's a man who has survived the rough-and-tumble politics of his state for forty years (he was elected to the state legislature at 21) and practiced the politics of "bread-and-butter liberalism" with a skill matched by almost no other candidate. The economy of New Mexico is pitched to the federal dollar. It gets $1.9 billion from Washington each year—nearly $500 million just for the state's two huge nuclear energy laboratories—and sends back only $1 billion. Montoya can keep it coming. Montoya is on the Senate Appropriations Committee where he is said to "cry" for every cent he can get for his state. He's on Public Works, also big in the Southwest. He's on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, the panel which oversees the nuclear labs, plus the Appropriations Subcommittee which gets first crack at funding them. There was a time when such credentials would resolve all doubts about his tenure, although Montoya has never been personally popular with large numbers of voters. Today, though, he must contend with the "politics of morality."

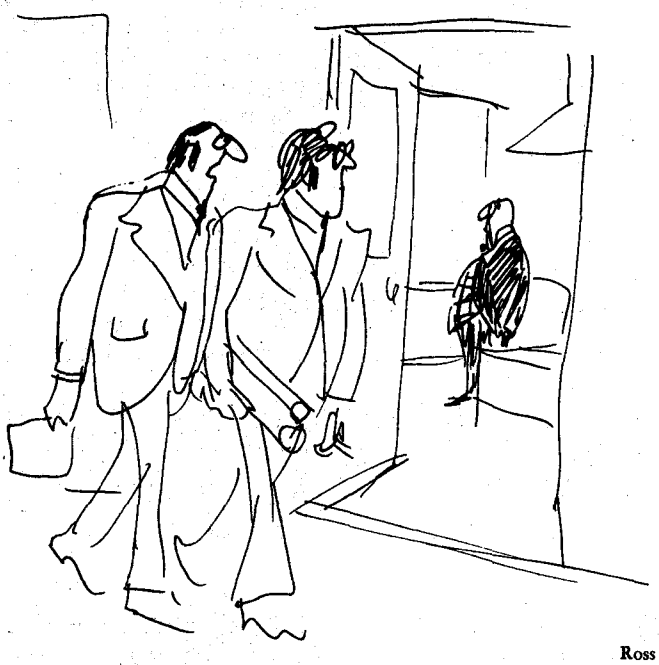
Montoya has had a run of bad luck lately. His income taxes were audited after it was charged that Internal

Paul Wieck, a veteran Washington correspondent, has covered politics for The Albuquerque Journal *and* The New Republic.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Revenue Commissioner Donald Alexander blocked an audit in 1973 when Montoya was serving on the Watergate Committee. He owns a number of shopping centers. The Postal Service has condemned space in one of them for use as a post office, thus getting around a law which says a member of Congress can't have a lease with the federal government. He has been charged with using Senate staff employees in Albuquerque and Santa Fe to collect rents from his shopping centers. Montoya says the IRS audited his taxes and cleared him, and points out that the Select Committee on Standards and Conduct of the Senate cleared him in the post office matter. He denies using his staff for personal business. But lots of voters have their doubts and most polls show him in a tight race, or trailing.

"Bread-and-butter" politics isn't without appeal; in fact, Montoya's support has never been stronger in the state's business community. That group made up the bulk of some 2,000 who shelled out $100 a plate in late



Ross

"It's Pathetic. He's Lost the Will to Bribe!"

August for a Montoya fund-raising dinner. In normal times, that alone should insure the re-election of a Democrat in New Mexico by an overwhelming majority.

Montoya's opponent is a 41-year-old ex-astronaut, Harrison Schmitt Jr., a Western conservative whose views are too far Right for the state (he's for some kind of voluntary Social Security, for the sale of federal lands to the private sector). But Schmitt's campaign is so amateurish the voters aren't finding out much about him. So his views may offer no obstacle to those who want to get rid of Montoya.

"Image" problems vary but the effect seems to be the same. In fact, a close race developing in California hints that the only way to deal with an image problem this year is to find a counter image problem. California's Sen. John V. Tunney has long been perceived by a lot of voters in his state as being both an intellectual lightweight and a playboy. He had a tough time in the Democratic primary with Tom Hayden and his wife, Jane Fonda. Hayden was a founder of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) back in those halcyon days when its principles seemed to offer an alternative for young people. But he put on a suit and tie for his primary run and gave Tunney some bad moments. Now, Tunney faces still another figure from the past—S.I. Hayakawa, the hero of the law-and-order crowd at the time of the San Francisco State disorders.

Tunney's constituency is even harder to reach than Montoya's; in fact, it's hard to imagine how one would go about effectively erasing a bad image in the course of a single campaign. The only solution is an opponent with one just as bad, and Hayakawa has been accommodating Tunney on that score. He's already told the voters of the state that he'd like to be "the Mayor Daley of California" and, to add shock to surprise, praised the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II as "a marvelous assimilation process" which enabled them to settle throughout the Rocky Mountains. The polls reflect voter indecision between these two images—it's just about a dead heat going into the final weeks.

The list goes on and on. Sen. Vance Hartke (D.) of Indiana is trailing ex-Mayor Richard Lugar of Indianapolis by a wide margin. In Maryland, Sen. J. Glenn Beall (R.), who failed to keep his fences mended during his first term, accepted a chunk of money from that slush fund the Nixon crowd had for Senate candidates in 1970. He tried to take the heat off by calling a press conference early in the campaign and confessing, but he's trailing Rep. Paul Sarbanes (D.) badly and probably won't be able to survive.

The new campaign disclosure law is also no help to the image polishers. One of the things the politicians are having to disclose this year is what is known as "walking around money" or "Election Day money." Sarbanes's campaign was jolted a bit when a third candidate, independent Bruce Bradley, went public with the fact that the Sarbanes camp passed out $53,000 in that kind of money in Baltimore the day of the primary election. Montoya's people, also observing a practice honored by politicians in his state, passed out considerable sums in the Spanish-speaking counties the day of his primary.

Judging by the response to Bradley's charges, Maryland voters have become so inured to the ways of politicians that it will take more than some "walking around money" to besmirch the otherwise good impression Sarbanes has made on the electorate. It could be that the public has started unconsciously to grade political sins and that, at least in Maryland, Election Day largesse rates as venial.

The Republicans have a further problem with all that illegal Gulf Oil money that a lobbyist named Claude Wild passed around over the years. He confessed all, and that was enough to convince Minority Leader Hugh Scott (R., Pa.), who was accused of taking more than his share, to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

step down. However, that didn't end the matter. The GOP was still saddled with a Pennsylvania candidate tarnished a bit by the Gulf brush.

Pennsylvania's race also offers something a little different in the way of images. Here's the line-up:

Rep. H.J. (Johnny) Heinz III, born in 1938 to the many varieties family, who went on to Yale and then Harvard; a "liberal" Republican of Protestant background; handsome, with a strong ego (some would say arrogant).

Rep. William Green Jr., born in 1938 to an Irish Catholic political family (his father was head of Philadelphia's Democratic committee when it delivered that record margin for JFK in 1960); Catholic schools and then on to Villanova; a Kennedy intimate, handsome, with a strong ego (some would say arrogant).

They couldn't wait to get at each other and they're mixing it up in a race so close that either the outcome of the Ford-Carter race in Pennsylvania or Heinz's problem with Gulf Oil money could tip the balance. So could Green's problems with Philadelphia's politicians since his father's death.

In addition to Maryland and, possibly, Pennsylvania, the Democrats hope to pick up seats in Arizona, Hawaii, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, Tennessee and Vermont, and the GOP is watching Rhode Island and Wyoming. Here's a capsule run-down:

Arizona: Back to image again. Rep. Sam Steiger, a Jewish boy from Brooklyn, won the Republican primary over Rep. John Conlan (R.), a self-advertised "Christian" candidate who's been busily trying to build a deeply fundamentalist, deeply conservative political movement around the country. Steiger's victory should have made him a local hero; however, he has had some bad publicity, in one case over an incident involving the shooting of a jackass. Early polls show Dist. Atty. Dennis DiConcini of Tucson, who comes from an old and prominent Democratic family, far ahead.

Hawaii: Rep. Spark Matsunaga (D.) should be a favorite to win the seat of Sen. Hiram Fong (R.) in a race against ex-Gov. William Quinn (R.).

Michigan: Rep. Donald W. Riegle Jr. (D.) was a strong, early favorite to win the seat of Sen. Philip Hart (D.) after winning an upset primary victory. Riegle has a lot more glamour than Rep. Marvin Esch, the colorless GOP nominee. Still, it has been disclosed that Riegle signed his ex-wife's name to a $4,000-plus tax refund check after they had separated and later had to give her $2,000 of it. That doesn't help anyone's image.

Missouri: This is the Republicans' best chance to pick up a Democratic seat (Stuart Symington's) because their candidate, Atty. Gen. John Danforth, has a splendid image: young, handsome, moderately liberal. He would have had a hard time against the late Rep. Jerry Litton who was killed hours after he won the primary. But the Democrats then picked ex-Gov. Warren Hearnes and he, too, has an image problem. He was what we used to call a "machine Democrat" and, once out of office, the Feds pursued him for years until they finally gave up in dismay. Still, it rubbed off. When Fritz Mondale introduced him to a crowd of 6,000 (largely college students) in Columbia, Mo., Hearnes was roundly booed.

Nebraska: In late September, the Democrats were shocked to find that their candidate, Mayor Edward Zorinsky of Omaha, was running ahead of Rep. John McCollister (R.) of Omaha, largely on the basis of the polls in Omaha where Zorinsky is very popular. Since then, the outstate voters have been getting acquainted with the two candidates and the Republicans say McCollister, one of the more capable and responsible conservatives in the House, is pulling ahead.

New York: The Democrats had a choice between pure theatre or a little theatre and a lot of hard work; they picked the former, which isn't surprising, given the track record of New York Democrats. Nevertheless, Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D.) is expected to unseat Sen. James Buckley (R.-Conservative), who's respected by his colleagues as a person, although even his fellow GOP Senators think he's too rigid in his ideological viewpoints for his own good. That's not "in" this year and will probably cost him any chance of re-election.

Ohio: Sen. Robert A. Taft Jr., the bland scion of a great conservative family, is in a nip-and-tuck race with ex-Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D.). Metzenbaum was perceived as "arrogant" by voters when Sen. John Glenn (D.) whipped him in a primary last time around, but he has apparently overcome this handicap. He should be helped by Carter's strength in rural Ohio.

Rhode Island: The GOP is holding its breath on this one. Ex.-Gov. John Chafee (R.), a poor campaigner, is given a chance against Edward Lorcher (D.), who edged out Gov. Philip Noel (D.) in a bitter primary. Still, it would be curious if Chafee won and Rhode Island, the country's most Catholic state, was represented in the Senate by two blue-blooded Protestants. That doesn't fit any image.

Tennessee: If Carter's interview with *Playboy* hasn't blown his huge, early lead in the state, he should carry former State Chairman Jim Sasser in with him. Sen. William Brock (R.) has told his GOP colleagues he's in trouble, in part because of a deserved image of aloofness.

Utah: Sen. Frank Moss (D.) is finding out this isn't the year to disagree publicly with his church's hierarchy (that's the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) on an issue they feel as strongly about as "situs picketing." Moss supported the bill, despite the church's strong opposition. He was also hurt a bit by his haste (he led the charge) in demanding that Rep. Allan Howe (D.) step aside after he was entrapped by Salt Lake City police on a morals charge. Howe's friends think Moss could have waited until Howe, his long-time protégé, had been convicted. The polls show GOP nominee Orin Hatch running nine to eleven points ahead of Moss.

Vermont: The Democrats hope that Gov. Thomas Salmon (D.) can overtake Sen. Robert Stafford (R.), another politician who has paid too little attention to the folks back home.

Wyoming: This should be an easy one for Sen. Gale McGee (D.); however, the Democrats are a trifle nervous. As chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, McGee may have led one fight too many for federal pay raises. At any rate, his opponent, state Sen. Malcolm Wallop (R.), is using that issue. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE BLACKMAIL FACTOR

Some of Our Plutonium Is Missing

BARBARA P. NEWMAN

The General Accounting Office, the investigative arm of the Congress, recently issued another in a series of devastating critiques of the government's ability to safeguard nuclear materials from theft. The GAO's report, "Shortage in the Systems Used to Control and Protect Dangerous Nuclear Materials—ERDA" says that the safeguard systems are "inherently flawed" and as a result the government cannot account for 150,000 pounds of nuclear material, of which 6 to 7 per cent, or almost 11,000 pounds, is weapons grade material that can be fashioned into nuclear bombs. According to a summary of the GAO report which ERDA (Energy Research and Development Administration) classified "secret," 36 pounds of enriched uranium or 13 pounds of plutonium is all that's needed to make a nuclear weapon. The unaccounted for nuclear material could, at least in theory, be used for hundreds of nuclear weapons. The GAO report was directed at the thirty-four government-owned contractor-operated facilities; another GAO report on private industry is expected later this year. But the analysis of ERDA's safeguard deficiencies applies equally to private industry which employs the same procedures at its plants, regulated by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. (The Atomic Energy Commission was dissolved in January 1975, and its functions divided between the Energy Research and Development Administration, which regulates government-owned facilities, and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission [NRC], which is responsible for private industry. Essentially, former AEC personnel staff both agencies.)

The GAO study was requested by Rep. John Dingell (D., Mich.) in December 1974, following a National Public Radio report that 20 kilograms of plutonium was unaccounted for at the Kerr McGee Nuclear Corporation's plutonium production facility at Crescent, Okla. The AEC vehemently denied the story, but internal commission documents supplied to Dingell's subcommittee reveal that the plant was indeed short by that amount and had closed down for a reinventory. At the time, AEC officials told Congressional investigators that they would never admit, even to Congress, that nuclear material was missing, since that would invite threats from extortionists. But that position is also a convenient cover for officially tolerated incompetence. This incompetence has long been overlooked by the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, a body more enamored of nuclear development than of government regulation. In its report, GAO was highly critical of Congressional oversight for countenancing inadequate nuclear safeguards.

The Joint Committee attempted to muzzle this criticism by issuing a sanitized press release on the GAO report. It did not mention the tough criticism of the safeguard system; it did not mention the huge amount of unaccounted for nuclear material; nor did it contain the criticism of Congressional oversight. Representative Dingell was furious at what he interpreted as a conscious effort to distort the substance of the GAO report. Blocked in his desire to release the report in its entirety because of the secret classification affixed to it by ERDA, Dingell ordered his staff on the Energy and Environment Subcommittee to prepare its own summary. He said, "I issued the report to give a more accurate view of the GAO findings. The report indicates the failure of ERDA as well as the Congress to devise a system to protect the American public from the catastrophic consequences of diversion or even a single theft of this bomb grade material." Dingell said that he spoke with ERDA officials who assured him that only a gram of nuclear material is known to have been removed from a nuclear facility. But, said Dingell, "The GAO report clearly shows that there is no factual way the government can determine whether material is lost or stolen and what's more, the question arises if the existing nuclear safeguard system can adequately detect or prevent theft of special nuclear material or seizure of a plant."

Nuclear safeguards consist of two elements: material accounting and physical safeguards (guards, fences, sensors, alarms). The GAO criticized both as inadequate, with the result that "timely response and recovery actions are precluded."

Material accounting is an inventory system and involves techniques to identify and measure the amounts of nuclear materials at various points within a plant. Because of the imprecisions inherent in this system, the government has devised something known as MUF, material unaccounted for, to explain the discrepancies. The invariable response to questions about missing uranium or plutonium is that no material has been lost; it is merely embedded somewhere in the pipes or tubes of the production process. MUF is a bureaucratic crutch. Now that MUF figures have begun to be publicized, top safeguard officials despairingly throw up their hands and admit that nuclear inventory procedures have been allowed to degenerate so badly that they have lost control over losses. A summary of the more flagrant safeguard inadequacies illuminates their frustration.

¶In 1965, the NUMEC Company of Apollo, Pa., which makes fully enriched, bomb grade uranium fuel for the naval reactor program, could not account for 400 pounds of nuclear material. The AEC fined the company $834,000, but the material has never been recovered. Various theories abound. One is that nuclear material diverted from NUMEC was used to make the nuclear bomb exploded by China in 1964. Another is that a pro-Israeli NUMEC official somehow provided Israel with material for its nuclear bombs. This latter theory is taken

Barbara Newman is an investigative reporter and interviewer for National Public Radio.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

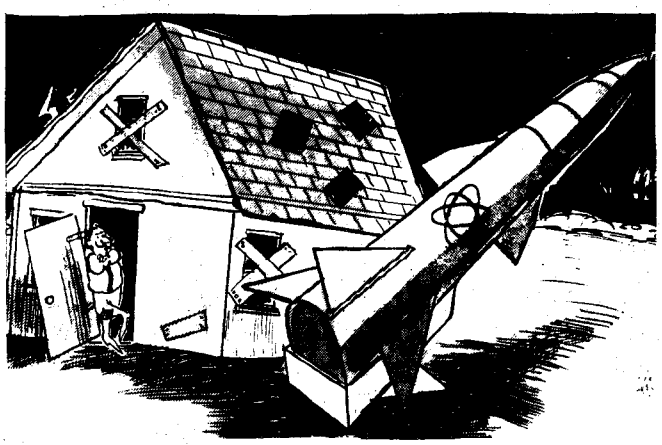
seriously by some staff members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. When a reporter questioned a top NRC official about where all that bomb grade uranium could have gone, his index finger depicted rising circles as he replied, "Up the chimney. Who knows?"

¶ At least on two occasions in 1974, the Kerr McGee Nuclear Corporation was closed down for reinventory because significant amounts of plutonium were missing. These second checks conducted by the company always ended up finding the material; the NRC participated only to the extent that it sent one inspector to view the reinventory. The weakness of this oversight was admitted by the NRC to Peter Stockton, an investigator for Representative Dingell. He was informed that there is no way the federal government could know that the plutonium was in fact located. This is the "inherent flaw" cited by the GAO.

¶ In January 1974, Kerr McGee hired as one of the first guards at its plutonium facility Leonardo Crusher, a convicted bank robber operating under an alias. He was uncovered, not by Kerr McGee but by a credit company checking his references. Kerr McGee discharged him without informing the AEC about the incident. Six months later, Crusher was arrested again for armed robbery in Oklahoma City. (Kerr McGee was licensed to process 1,000 kilograms annually. On average, McGee would have 360 kilograms of plutonium in inventory.)

¶ In the fall of 1975, a former McGee employee, Sherri Ellis, distraught over the souring of her love affair with her roommate, scaled the corporation's fence, armed with a rifle. It turned out to be unloaded, but FBI Special Agent Lawrence J. Olson Sr. told Congressional investigators that, had it been loaded, Ellis would have had the two McGee guards "outgunned."

¶ In January 1976, National Public Radio reported that material accounting procedures at another plant making bomb grade uranium for the Navy was so flawed that an audit turned up an *excess* of 30 kilograms of fully enriched uranium. The plant, owned by Nuclear Fuel Services, a subsidiary of Getty Oil, is located in Erwin, Tenn. So far as anyone knows, the motivation for this subversion of the control system was simply a human desire by the workers to protect themselves. It appears that a group of employees established a "cache" of uranium, to be used in case an audit indicated a shortfall. The workers claimed they were eliminating material as effluent when, in reality, they were allowing it to accumulate in some pipes. When the computer showed a shortfall of 30 kilograms in the fall of 1974, they flushed the pipes and recovered the "missing" material. But then the shortfall turned out to be a computer error and the men had an excess of uranium on their hands. After this report, the NRC sent several inspection teams to Erwin. They found severe problems, including the use of an employee honor system in place of guards at plant exits. Partly as a result of problems uncovered at Nuclear Fuel Services, the NRC in January instituted a special review of safeguards at the fifteen civilian facilities possessing significant quantities of highly enriched uranium or plutonium. On physical safeguards, the NRC postulates that, to meet the threat level, a licensee must have three well-armed, well-trained persons operating outside a facility and one working on the inside. Only eight of the fifteen facilities were judged capable of meeting this minimal threat.



Liederman, L.I. Press (N.Y.)

The problem with government safeguards of nuclear materials is that until recently very few people took the threat of diversion seriously. Even now, the NRC has not upgraded old AEC regulations which permit the unguarded transportation of up to 2 kilograms of plutonium or 5 kilograms of enriched uranium, quantities the NRC classifies as "strategic amounts." The transportation phase is known to be the most vulnerable to diversion, and there are several thousand transfers of unguarded plutonium in each year, according to the NRC. It would not be difficult for would-be terrorists to determine the schedules and routes of these transfers, most of which are made by commercial trucks.

Last year the Battelle NW Laboratories analyzed commercial transfers of plutonium in 1972 for the NRC and found that the average amount of material in 4,100 transfers was 90 grams. That quantity is too small to constitute a hazard in the context of bomb making, but several safeguard experts, including Dr. Theodore Taylor, who first raised the issue in this country, warns that exceedingly small amounts of plutonium could be a potent weapon in the terrorist's arsenal. A few grams disbursed in a closed air-conditioning system could poison an entire floor of an office building. (Plutonium is the most potent carcinogen known to man. A millionth of a gram has caused lung cancer in experimental laboratory animals.)

The weakness of nuclear safeguards and the vast amount of bomb grade material that cannot be accounted for has caused some level-headed students of the issue to wonder whether a black market in nuclear material is operating in this country. One expert who asked not to be named reasons: "We know that there are international buyers for this material. There have been incidents of attempted diversion of nuclear material in Europe and India. Now, if the material can be gotten, you don't have to be a genius to figure it out. If you're willing to pay a high price, you'll find people willing to trade. And the skills to get the stuff are not very difficult. We've seen criminals able to penetrate well-guarded facilities where diamonds and gold bullion are stored . . . and they represent formidable adversaries."

The AEC response to 1973 and 1974 reports that criticized major deficiencies in nuclear safeguards within facilities and during transportation is aptly described by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one of Lyndon Johnson's more colorful phrases: They hunkered down like a jackass in a snow storm, deflecting the attack by claiming that all deficiencies had been corrected. ERDA employed the same strategy in its response to the most recent GAO report. Since the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy expresses no indignation, the officials concerned feel no great urgency to remedy the situation. Pressure for improvement has not been self-generated but has taken place defensively, in response to revelations in the press and leaks of embarrassing official documents pointing to safeguard inadequacies. As a result, action to improve protection of fissionable nuclear material is still not commensurate with the need. And because we are living at a time of unprecedented terrorist activity, both at home and abroad, this is an extremely dangerous situation. □

THERAPY OR MIND CONTROL?

Congress Endorses Psychosurgery

SAMUEL CHAVKIN

For nearly a decade there has been heated controversy as to whether or not psychosurgery, a form of brain surgery, is efficacious in treating a variety of emotional disturbances as well as in curing anti-social behavior and impulsive aggressiveness. Critics have referred to it as "laundered" lobotomy, the reference being to a procedure which in the 1940s and 1950s left in its wake some 50,000 human "vegetables." While conceding that the early lobotomies were somewhat primitive, present-day advocates of psychosurgery argue that, thanks to newer and better understanding of brain function and to advances in sophisticated technology, benefits of the procedure outweigh the risk of side effects. Recently the debate has been intensified by the growing uneasiness that, though psychosurgery's therapeutic possibilities remain somewhat moot, its effectiveness as a mind-controlling method may be closer at hand.

Now a Congressionally mandated commission has stepped in to say that the controversy should come to an end; that psychosurgery, even though little is known as to the mechanism of its action, is not some kind of demoniacal expedient but is indeed helpful to patients suffering from different psychiatric ailments. In the words of the commission, "psychosurgery has potential merit and . . . the risks are not excessive, despite the fact that the results of specific procedures have not been completely validated. . . ." Accordingly, it has recommended that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which supervises and funds a number of federal agencies involved in human experimentation, should be "encouraged to conduct and support research to evaluate the safety and efficacy of psychosurgical procedures in relieving specific psychiatric symptoms and disorders."

The commission (its official name is the National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research) is made up of eleven members. Three are physicians, three are trained in law (one is an attorney and two are professors), two are specialists in the ethics of biology, two are behavioral psychologists and one is a representative of a women's organization. They were appointed by former HEW Secretary Caspar Weinberger, for a two-year term, which is scheduled to end in December. Their Congressional mandate directs them to draw up appropriate guidelines for the conduct of human experiments under government auspices.

The commission's decision to put its stamp of approval on psychosurgery was surprising enough, but what stunned many observers, including some of its own staff members, was that it also recommended that the procedure should be done on prisoners, mental patients and even children. That is a prickly issue, for it touches on the famous Nuremberg Code which forbids the United States, as well as other nations that signed the covenant, to perform experiments on captive populations, unless the individuals to be involved are fully informed of the nature of the experiment and submit voluntarily. There have been innumerable charges, in and out of court, that prisoners and others involuntarily institutionalized in this country have been used as guinea pigs in violation of the Nuremberg Code. And since there is a substantial overrepresentation of minorities in the prison population the racial question has added yet another dimension to the debate.

But in the commission's opinion psychosurgery, even though it is to be done in the context of research, is no longer to be viewed as experimental. Therefore, prison inmates and individuals committed to other institutions should not be deprived of its benefits. By expunging the word "experimental" the commission apparently hopes to move psychosurgery into therapeutic respectability, thereby absolving surgeons of charges that they are tampering with patients' brains on a trial-and-error basis.

Despite its long deliberations on the need to guarantee the principle of informed consent, the commission has become so convinced of the efficacy of psychosurgery that it is recommending its application even to those prisoners "whose capacity to consent may be somewhat diminished." A commission staff member explained that psychosurgery can now be put into the category of emergency treatment like, for example, an appendectomy, in which case an inmate's approval becomes somewhat irrelevant. This approach appears to contradict the commission's own

Samuel Chavkin, a medical editor and publisher, is completing a book on the proposed uses of psychosurgery and other behavior modifying techniques to constrain social and political nonconformity.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stated belief that psychosurgery be done on prisoners only on their initiative and with lawfully informed consent. (One commissioner, Patricia King, associate professor of law, Georgetown University Law Center, Washington, D.C., told me that she would file a minority report, since she is not in accord with some of the recommended proposals concerning prisoners. Professor King was absent from the session at which the commission voted on the final recommendations.)

It is somewhat ironic that psychosurgery would get such a clean bill of health, since the commission came into being precisely because public concern was rising that this procedure is based on shaky scientific grounds and because of its potential as a tool to control social or political dissidents. During hearings held several years ago by a Senate subcommittee headed by Sen. Edward Kennedy, the director of the National Institute of Mental Health, Dr. Bertram S. Brown, was asked whether psychosurgery could be used for mass behavioral control. His answer: "Yes . . . I can picture scenarios under certain kinds of authoritarian situations where it could be used for such purposes. I think that would be dreadful—and un-American."

For two years before his retirement from the Senate, Sam Ervin chaired a subcommittee that dug into the machinations of government agencies busy devising techniques (including psychosurgery) designed to make people more manageable. Late in 1974, he issued a voluminous report on the committee's findings and sounded a warning that Americans, especially those in institutions, face growing encroachments on their liberties.

"Because it affects the ability of the individual to think for himself, the behavioral technology being developed in the United States touches upon the most basic sources of individuality, and the very core of personal freedom," Senator Ervin declared in the preface to the report. And he chastised the federal government for being "heavily involved in a variety of modification programs ranging from simple reinforcement techniques to psychosurgery." He singled out psychosurgery as one of the most ominous procedures because of its permanent effects on the individual. Once brain cells are destroyed they will not regenerate and the resultant personality changes cannot be undone. As one neurophysiologist put it, "brain cells do not forgive nor forget."

In 1973, in what has become a landmark decision (the Kaimowitz case), a Michigan court prevented the state prison authorities from hustling an inmate onto the operating table by declaring psychosurgery to be a dangerous and experimental procedure. Its intervention into the brain, the court stated, impairs the person's ability to generate ideas or think normally, thus infringing on the guarantees of the First Amendment in this regard. And, because of the coercive quality of prison life, the court felt that it is impossible for the inmate to arrive at freely chosen consent to undergo such surgery.

Concerned by these developments, Rep. Louis Stokes (D., Ohio) has put forward a bill to ban psychosurgery in all federally funded facilities. He is holding up its formal introduction pending the final outcome of the commission's recommendations.

However, much of the skepticism regarding psychosurgery, as well as the precedent of the Michigan court decision, may become academic once the Secretary of HEW and Congress agree to the commission's recommendations; and that is seen as a foregone conclusion. Thereafter the official government line will be that psychosurgery is no longer to be identified with the previously held shortcomings of the procedure. And, for proof, the Secretary will cite the commission's conclusions based on two studies for which it contracted in the course of its deliberations.

One study, headed by Dr. Allan F. Mirsky and Dr. Maressa H. Orzack, neuropsychologists at Boston University, involved twenty-seven patients who had already undergone psychosurgery and all of whom were referred to the investigators by three surgeons who had performed the operations. The retrospective approach made impossible a convincing comparison of the patients' condition before and after surgery. Evaluation of psychosurgery's effectiveness in treating disorders (mostly diagnosed as symptoms of depression or of obsessive-compulsive conditions) was done through psychological and neurological testing and interviews. Dr. Mirsky reported that fourteen of the twenty-seven patients were considered to have had "very favorable outcomes" and that the remainder had results which ranged downward to "only moderate improvement."

Since the Mirsky researchers depended on the files of the doctors who performed the operations in choosing the patients to be interviewed, there is a nagging suspicion among some observers that these patients represent a biased sampling. As one neurosurgeon put it when commenting on psychosurgical results in general, "human nature is such that most surgeons probably do not want to acknowledge post-surgical deficit in their patients, even though such findings would advance our knowledge of brain function. . . ." And even though the surgeons' names are not included in the report, there are enough telltale clues to make identification rather easy. Certainly in one instance the physician is known to be a very active and impassioned crusader for psychosurgery. While no one challenges his claims to success, his partisanship might introduce a shadow on the objectivity of the data confronting Dr. Mirsky's investigators.

In the other study the team of researchers was headed by Prof. Hans-Lukas Teuber of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and included Suzanne Corkin, Ph.D. and Thomas Twitchell, M.D. They examined thirty-four patients who had undergone cingulotomies (one of the variants of the psychosurgery procedure) for the relief of pain, combined with other psychiatric disorders. They all were operated on by one surgeon, and in some cases more than once. Dr. Teuber's examinations took place relatively soon after the surgeries were done (from four to eighteen months) so that long-term results are yet to be ascertained.

Dr. Teuber was most impressed with his finding that the patients he examined showed no serious neurological consequences. Teuber, and for that matter Mirsky, did report, however, that some patients (one in Mirsky's group and another in Teuber's) developed seizures fol-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lowing surgery, whereas they had not had a previous history of convulsive disorders. Dr. Teuber employed a battery of psychological and perception tests on the patients and failed to detect any serious deficits because of surgery.

However, his interviews with the thirty-four patients produced mixed reactions. While some claimed great benefits, others continued to complain of various pains, memory losses and other unresolved conditions. For instance, several of the patients indicated they were still suicidal, still angry, still suffering from depression. One woman who complained of having "irresistible thoughts about various ways of hurting people, by stabbing them, putting poison into their food, etc.," claimed not to have had even temporary alleviation of her troubles. Still another woman reported improvement only because of the fact that, whereas before surgery she would hear voices which she could not control, since her surgery she could tell the voices to "shut up." Yet another patient, who underwent two cingulotomies following a suicide attempt, said that he was not sure that the third operation was any more successful in lifting his depression. He still thinks of suicide and he had taken an overdose of drugs only recently. Dr. Teuber describes this man as grimacing, with tremors, giving the impression "of being at the end of his rope," but praising the operation nonetheless.

Dr. Teuber's favorable reaction to cingulotomy has elicited surprise from some neuroscientists who are familiar with his long-standing admonition regarding surgical intervention for the modification of brain function. A neuropsychologist who has concentrated on the study of head wounds and trauma resulting from accidents, Dr. Teuber has often warned that lobotomies and other surgical brain procedures may bring on convulsive seizures many years after these operations are performed.

While this matter is left unresolved, Dr. Teuber himself has raised a fundamental question as to the integrity of this procedure. Was it the surgery that led to improvement of some patients or was it the placebo effect of a reassuring surgeon? It so happens that the patients in Dr. Teuber's study were under the care of a most solicitous and deeply religious physician whose empathetic involvement might have produced the therapeutic effects.

"As our analyses of personal interviews with the patients and with members of their family indicate," Dr. Teuber reports, "the vast majority of this particular surgeon's patients speak of him with expressions of deep gratitude, and often reverence. The descriptions tend to borrow terms from a religious context: one hears of a miracle, a rebirth, of finding oneself again, or of having one's life restored, and the surgeon as healer appears in these accounts with a special aura, reflecting much of the manner in which he interprets his procedures both before and afterward to patients and relatives, together with the unusual degree to which he concerns himself with the day-by-day postoperative adjustment of his patients. One therefore wonders, as in the earlier days of this type of surgery, whether burr holes without brain tissue destruction might have had similar therapeutic effects. . . ."

Commenting on the Mirsky-Teuber studies, one of the commissioners, Dr. Donald Wayne Seldin, professor and chairman, Department of Internal Medicine, University of Texas, said that while psychosurgery appears to alleviate certain types of pain and anxiety, "there is absolutely no proof . . . that this is a direct result of the surgical procedure rather than things other than the surgery. No one, to my knowledge, has done a control study in which issues such as suggestion, loyalty to the physician, and complex other factors are involved. And Teuber himself admitted this. . . . The evidence is not compelling, to say the least."

To some extent Dr. Seldin's view was buttressed by still another study contracted by the commission. This was a survey of medical literature dealing with psychosurgery since 1971. Conducted by Dr. Elliot Valenstein, professor of psychology at the University of Michigan, and author of the book *Brain Control*, the survey revealed that 56 per cent of the articles published in the United States indicated that no objective tests were used by the surgeons to evaluate the usefulness of this procedure.

Dr. Valenstein reported considerable disagreement among surgeons as to which patients are most likely to benefit from psychosurgery. Some felt it ineffective for schizophrenic patients, others insisted that the results were good. He pointed out that there was also disagreement in the literature as to whether criminals, psychopaths, sexual offenders and aggressive individuals who showed no clear evidence of brain damage improved with psychosurgery.

For nearly two years the commission has heard from a steady parade of witnesses—neurosurgeons, psychologists, prisoner advocates and others—who warned that at best psychosurgery is experimental and a long way from being a recognized therapeutic procedure. Again and again they pointed to inconclusive experience with animals as well as with human beings.

Perhaps those most disturbed were minority representatives. A special conference, which the commission cosponsored with the National Urban Coalition last January, heard pleas for caution in doing such research, and the conference as a whole urged that psychosurgery should not be performed on prisoners and others "involuntarily confined in institutions, sexual deviants, political deviants or social deviants. . . ."

It is true that the data gathered by Dr. Valenstein and others indicate that in the past several years the overwhelming majority of those undergoing psychosurgery were private, white patients. The objective was therapeutic, to find relief from emotional difficulties that had proved resistant to drugs, psychoanalysis, electro-shock or other treatments. But this information did not reassure black and Chicano spokesmen who fear that

HAVE YOU THOUGHT

Of giving a Nation gift subscription to a friend? A subscription is an especially meaningful gift for a young person away at school, or to anyone you feel would benefit from the news and reviews published in The Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this procedure could be used to subdue those voicing legitimate grievances against the steadily deteriorating conditions of the prison system.

The use of psychosurgery on recalcitrant prisoners in California and Michigan penitentiaries a few years back is still fresh and searing in the minds of those who recall that it was done under the guise of therapy—to rid these men of uncontrollable, impulsive aggressiveness.

In a position paper sent to the commission, Dr. Ernest A. Bates, a black neurosurgeon in San Francisco, scored those physicians who have expressed the opinion that psychosurgery may solve the problem of individuals who are prone to violence and aggression. "Much of this experimental surgery is close to worthless from a broad scientific point of view, as well as being of dubious therapeutic value in some cases," Dr. Bates declared. "We are a long way from the time when psychosurgery may be considered a 'cure' for violent behavior in human beings." He made a special point in urging that "psychosurgery should not be performed on any prisoner . . .," nor on children. The neurosurgeon, Dr. Bates added, "must not become the dupe of those who are looking for a quick and easy solution, or seeking medical answers to social and political problems."

It is difficult to understand, given this widespread uneasiness, why the commission did not undertake an investigation into claims that psychosurgery is the answer to violence and nonconformism. For the theory that malfunctioning brain cells trigger uncontrolled, anti-social aggression is what has forced the debate on psychosurgery to spill out beyond the confines of the scientific community.

That is what sparked agitation on the Harvard campus when medical students assailed professors for advocating psychosurgery as an antidote for social unrest. The psychosurgery issue spawned student sit-down strikes, picket lines and fiery polemics among professors for nearly two years when Dr. L. Jolyon West, the head of the prestigious Neuropsychiatric Institute at the University of California, Los Angeles, drafted plans in 1972 for the creation of a Center for the Reduction of Violence. The center received official blessings from then Governor Ronald Reagan, when he presented his 1973 State of the State address. With a projected budget of $1.5 million, half of which was to come from the federal government, the center was to develop mass screening tests for the detection of violence-prone individuals. The plan called for implanting electrodes in the brains of suspects to monitor electrical brain activity and thus develop evidence as to which of these people were candidates for psychosurgery. Among those denouncing this project were the American Civil Liberties Union, the NAACP, the California Psychiatric Society, the Federation of American Scientists, the Mexican-American Political Association, the Black Panthers and others. The statewide protests finally forced the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, which was to contribute the federal half of the funding, to back away. The project is now inactive, but observers on the scene feel that, given the proper political atmosphere, it will be revived.

Psychosurgery emerged as a political issue soon after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968 when street riots began to shake the country. Three Harvard professors, Dr. Vernon Mark, associate professor of surgery, Dr. William H. Sweet, professor of surgery, and Dr. Frank Ervin, associate professor of psychiatry, wrote a letter to the *Journal of the American Medical Association* in which they advanced the notion that "brain dysfunction" in some rioters might have been as strong a reason for the disorders as were the social and economic causes.

"The real lesson of urban rioting," the doctors declared, "is that, besides the need to study the social fabric that creates the riot atmosphere, we need intensive research and clinical studies of the individuals commiting the violence. The goal of such studies would be to pinpoint, diagnose and treat those people with low violence thresholds before they contribute to further tragedies." They based their approach on the theory that abnormal and diseased cells of the amygdala nucleus of the brain are the triggering mechanisms for uncontrollable rage. (See box.)

The timing of this analysis of violence could not have been more opportune. The "law and order" philosophy of the newly installed Nixon administration was just being

The Amygdala

The amygdala lies deep in the brain, within the limbic system, whose principal function is still shrouded in mystery. There is growing belief that the limbic system is generally associated with emotion and behavior control. Defects of the amygdala, according to the Harvard group, appear to be chiefly responsible for uncontrollable, impulsive aggression. It is assumed that, by eliminating or destroying sections of the amygdala, surgery can cure a person suffering from tempestuous or violent outbursts.

The operation begins with an incision in the scalp. The surgeon then applies a small power-driven drill to different points of the exposed skull. A few brief bursts, accompanied by the sound of a shrill metallic whine, and the skull openings, or burr holes, are ready to receive the electrodes. These are hair-thin wires which are pushed along a trajectory plotted with the aid of X-rays and an anatomic atlas. In some instances 100 or more such electrodes are pushed into the brain. The very implantation of these electrodes is dangerous. Nick a blood vessel and death is almost certain, for there is little one can do to stop a brain hemorrhage.

Once the electrodes reach the designated area, they are locked into position and can now be used as conduits to transmit current to stimulate various brain areas so that a reading can be made of electrical activity. If, in the opinion of the neurosurgeons, these brain waves, as visualized in electroencephalograms (EEGs), indicate abnormality, then a heavier electrical charge will be passed through to destroy the brain cells presumed to be diseased. In addition to electricity, surgeons also use laser beams or ultra-sound to lesion the suspected areas.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unfolded; it was aimed at dismantling whatever remained of the previous administrations' programs to ease the pent-up frustrations of minority groups cooped up in ghetto surroundings.

There was a complete veering away from the concept that social and economic factors played a role in occurrences of violence and crime. Henceforth the onus was to be put upon the individual delinquent. The continuing rise in mass layoffs of the unskilled, who had nowhere to go but on welfare, was brushed aside as incidental. Also ignored were the recommendations of the Kerner Commission (sponsored by the Johnson administration) that an all-nation effort be mobilized to narrow the economic gap between the "haves" and "have-nots" to avert a national catastrophe.

And so when the Harvard professors sought funding for research to validate their theory, there was a quick response. The National Institute of Mental Health, over the protests of many of its scientists, handed over $500,000 to a project designed to "understand and control violent and destructive behavior that is presumed to be a direct result of brain dysfunction." And the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration gave the Harvard trio another $100,000 to study brain disorders of violent lawbreakers.

Further elaborating on their thesis, two of the Harvard professors, Dr. Mark and Dr. Ervin, later wrote *Violence and the Brain*, in which they emphasized their belief in the importance of brain disease as a factor in the rise of assaultive crime in the United States. Their claim was that "more than 10 million Americans suffer from obvious brain disease and the brains of another 5 million have been subtly damaged."

Authorities such as Dr. Elliot Valenstein, who studied and evaluated the world psychosurgery literature for the commission, disputes this theory. He has stated that "there is no convincing evidence that . . . episodically occurring violence caused by brain pathology represents anything more than a very insignificant percentage of the violence in our society. Certainly there is no reason to believe that brain pathology is contributing to the accelerating rate of assaultive behavior."

Since so much of the psychosurgical controversy hinges on whether the amygdala is really that closely related to the criminal propensities of a violence-prone individual, why didn't the commission deal with it? According to one member of its staff the commission was simply unable to do so in the time limit of its mandate. There is only one reference to this matter in the commission's report: it states that "whether destruction of a portion of the amygdala would . . . reduce aggressivity may not be clear, but the possibility of benefits to be derived from other psychosurgical procedures with respect to a variety of psychiatric symptoms have been demonstrated to the satisfaction of this commission."

Will this noncommittal statement continue to leave the door open to the notion that the amygdala is significantly culpable for the increasing crime rate in the United States? Dr. Valenstein's investigation, as well as that of the American Psychiatric Association, shows that the number of psychosurgical operations in the United States has declined to approximately 400 a year. It is possible that the threat of malpractice suits, as well as the prevailing anti-psychosurgery publicity, has made surgeons more reluctant to undertake such procedures. Now, with the "go-ahead" signal from the government, the likelihood is that more surgeons will unsheath their drills and scalpels.

The commission feels confident that there will be few abuses because it has built a variety of restraints into its recommendations to the secretary of HEW. It directs that hospitals in which psychosurgery is to be undertaken create an institutional review board to rule on the competence of the surgeon who will perform the operation. This board would also make certain that the selection of the patient is proper, and that his/her informed consent is obtained in such a way as to insure the patient's protection. The commission's recommendations seem to be riddled with inconsistencies. While constantly reiterating that psychosurgery be done within the research context, it also states that this procedure may be performed "other than in the context of a formal research protocol so long as various aspects of the procedure are reviewed by appropriately constituted committees. . . ."

Similarly, the commission calls for greatest caution "in considering the application of psychosurgery to young patients," since "it appears that many children recover from their psychiatric disorders during the process of maturation." At the same time, the commission would not prohibit "trials of psychosurgical procedures in selected young patients." It states that "children should not be categorically denied the possible advantages of a new therapy simply because they are children." It believes that, because an institutional review board would examine the particular child, and because approval of a court of competent jurisdiction would be required, the child's best interests would be protected.

However one interprets the commission's recommendations the likelihood is that there will now be an upsurge in the number of "operations on the mind." But the purposes for which psychosurgery will be applied in an institutional setting will continue to be suspect. □

LETTERS *(Continued from page 386)*

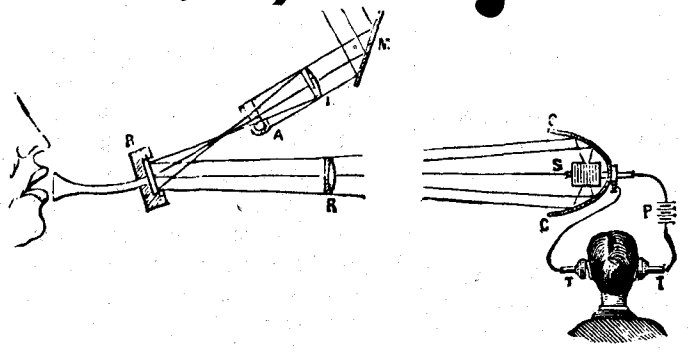
of State is not charged with correcting the perennial ills of the world during his administration of foreign affairs. Hence, an unrealistic level of aspiration will engender disappointment. A governmental practitioner will ply his trade in accordance with his values. For Kissinger, world order is the desideratum. . . . Specifically, détente with the Soviet Union is in the national interest of the United States, even if the latter has no say in human rights within the former dictatorial state; strategic balance options must remain open; foreign policy must be secretive while accountable in a democracy. This is not to cloak Kissinger with angelic qualities. However, a portrayal of him as villain distorts the image of both man and position.

Elliott A. Cohen

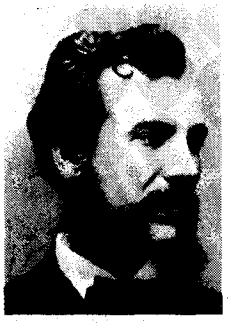
The editors welcome letters from readers but regret that space limitations often prevent publication of those of more than 250 words.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What's next, Professor Bell?



The photophone transmitted voices on a beam of light in 1880.



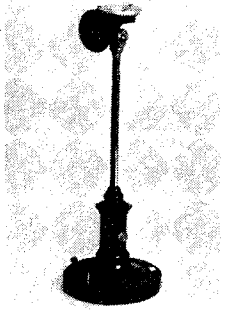
Alexander Graham Bell

"The greatest invention I have ever made; greater than the telephone." That's how Alexander Graham Bell rated his photophone, patented four years after the telephone, to transmit conversations on a beam of light. (Photophone = light-sound.) He actually demonstrated lightwave transmission of voices, but it would be nearly a century before it would become a practical reality.

The photophone was one of many ideas Bell proposed to improve the usefulness of his basic invention. Working with him on improvements were his assistants Thomas A. Watson, who received the world's first telephone call on March 10, 1876, and Charles S. Tainter. The sort of work they did would be called today "research and development".

Bell envisaged a telephone network linking the cities of the nation and eventually the whole world. But a voice could travel only a limited distance over a wire before it weakened and became inaudible. So the first phones depended heavily on lung power. It is no coincidence that we speak of telephone "calls", or that the word "hello", the standard greeting in phone conversations, is kin to "holler".

For years many people looked for a way to make a voice reach from coast to coast, including engineers of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company (the parent company of the Bell System), and its manufacturing and supply arm, the Western Electric Company. Some telephone people were much interested by a paper read to the American Institute of Electrical Engineers on October 20, 1906, by Dr. Lee de Forest. The paper described de Forest's new "audion" tube, a version of the vacuum tube used at that time in radio receiving sets. Basic theory told de Forest that his invention should detect *and amplify* tiny electric currents, such as those coming over the telephone



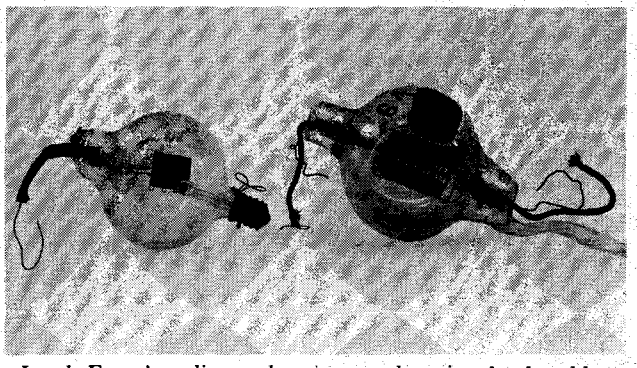
In 1886 this special telephone set was used for long distance calls.

(Advertisement)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wire. But his early models failed at amplification. He continued working on his own. And telephone engineers pursued other solutions.

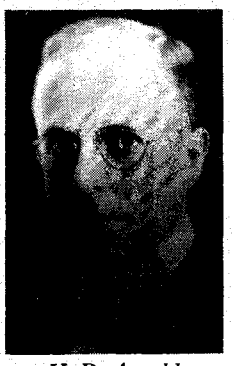
By 1912 de Forest was ready to demonstrate an improved audion that did operate as an amplifier, although imperfectly. In the group of telephone people assembled for one of de Forest's demonstrations was Harold D. Arnold, 29, a brilliant physicist hired the year before. Arnold identified at once the audion's major problem: the vacuum pump de Forest was using left too much air inside the tube, with the result that its performance was erratic and unpredictable. As a consequence of financial support by AT&T of the Bell System's research and development program, Arnold could obtain the newest pumping equipment and achieve a much higher vacuum, and within a year he had the amplifier needed. AT&T and Western Electric engineers made further circuit changes needed for telephony, AT&T management arranged for manufacture under de Forest's basic patent, and the amplifier went into production. On January 25, 1915, Bell in New York repeated to Watson in San Francisco his famous words, "Mr. Watson, come here. I want to see you."



Lee de Forest's audion and an improved version developed by H. D. Arnold for long distance telephony.

As the telecommunications industry grew, the vacuum tube was improved many times, but by the 1940s it was reaching its inherent limitations. Scientists at Bell Laboratories saw promise in a class of materials called semiconductors. From their carefully thought-out search came the discovery in 1947 of the transistor effect—the amplification and control of the flow of electrons in a solid material. Again the enormous problems of putting the discovery into practical form were far more quickly and expertly solved by collaboration between people at Bell Labs and Western Electric than could ever have been the case otherwise.

The story of the search for ways to strengthen telephone voices shows, in a rather simple way, many of the elements of the Bell System's research and development effort as it is carried on today: A perceived need in telephone operations. Corporate management that emphasizes service improvement. A commitment to exploration in relevant areas of basic science. A development effort, adequately funded, to move from discovery to practical use. Free exchange of information among people in research, development and manufacturing. And finally use of the discovery in equipment or a product to meet the need originally perceived. That final stage is what gives a laboratory discovery the right to be truly called an "innovation". And the expectation that applicable new knowledge will be used in the Bell System makes it possible to commit each year the millions of



H. D. Arnold

(Advertisement)
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dollars necessary to search for it.

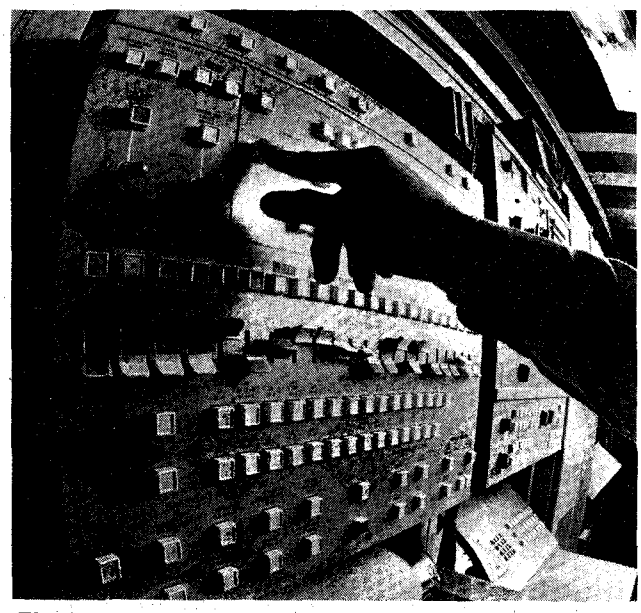
The amplifier story has an extra dimension, the use of innovations in many fields outside telephony. That is true of much Bell System research and development. It is corporate policy to publish new findings, to make new technology available to other companies through licensing arrangements, and to exchange technology with others. Vacuum tubes made possible radiotelephones, television broadcasting, improved phonographs and sound motion pictures. Scientists and engineers working for the Bell System made many contributions to all these innovations and the new industries that sprang from them. But the main objective of their investigations has been the improvement of the nation's telecommunications network and the myriad of services it provides.

The transistor, in its turn, gave birth to the whole new industry of solid-state electronics. It made practical such developments as the large-capacity computer for data processing, high-speed transmission of data between computers, space travel and communications via space satellites. Most important for the ordinary telephone user, the transistor made possible a new generation of switching machines for routing calls to their destinations—machines controlled by instructions stored in changeable memories. These electronic switching systems, now being installed, are many times faster than the best electromechanical systems. They provide enormously increased capacity and flexibility to meet the growth needs of the 1980s.

It is characteristic of a technologically oriented industry that technology must be prepared in anticipation of needs. The search requires a huge investment, both of time and money. And success depends on careful planning and close coordination of effort, in a process that runs from basic scientific exploration through fundamental development work, specific design, manufacturing capability, distribution and delivery to the ultimate consumer. For many industries, including telecommunications, the process also includes activities in maintenance, servicing and operation.

The transistor was invented at Bell Labs in 1947. Today, thousands of transistors can be made on one tiny integrated circuit chip.

In the Bell System, that process involves twenty-three regional operating companies, plus Bell Labs, Western Electric and the Long Lines Department. All these parts share one goal: to provide telecommunications services at the lowest possible cost to everyone.



Electronic switching systems, now in wide use, provide high speed and flexibility for the nation's telecommunications needs.

Such cooperation produces results.

(Advertisement)
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

According to the June 28, 1976, issue of *Business Week*:

By almost any measure, Bell Labs has contributed more to the telecommunications industry and more to the U.S. economy than any other research establishment....A major part of Bell Labs' charter is to keep well ahead in technology so that no significant development applicable to telecommunications will be unavailable to the Bell System. The bargaining power made available through extensive patent holdings gives AT&T ready access to the inventions of others when the company needs them.

Since 1925, the people at Bell Labs and Western Electric have received more than 24,000 U.S. patents, which have been made widely available to all of U.S. industry and the world.

Bell System research and development work is well underway on new communications technologies to meet the needs of telephone service in the future. For example, Bell scientists and engineers are now working on a practical way to use lightwaves for communications. They have already developed pinpoint light sources—light-emitting diodes, and lasers no larger than a grain of sand. (Both projects benefited from earlier Bell research on semiconductors.) To carry

Lightwave communications technology, now being tested, uses new solid-state light sources and glass fibers to transmit phone calls.

light around corners, or under city streets, they are using tiny strands of ultra-transparent glass called "lightguides." Right now an experimental lightwave communications system is being tested by Bell Labs and Western Electric engineers in Atlanta. Light and glass may one day join electricity and copper wire in the nationwide telecommunications network, and we may in fact "talk by light". Those are Alexander Graham Bell's words, describing his photophone.

One Bell System. It works.

Bell System

(Advertisement)

LICENSED TO MEC.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS

The Rebirth Artist

HOUDINI: A MIND IN CHAINS. *A Psychoanalytic Portrait. By Bernard C. Meyer, M.D. E.P. Dutton & Co. 197 pp. $10.*

HOUDINI: HIS LIFE AND ART. *By The Amazing Randi and Bert Randolph Sugar. Grosset & Dunlap. 192 pp. $12.95. Paper $6.95.*

100 YEARS OF MAGIC POSTERS. *By Charles and Regina Reynolds. Grosset & Dunlap. 112 pp. Paper $7.95.*

ROBERT D. BAMBERG

Houdini the old escape artist, like magic itself, won't stay decently buried; he makes periodic appearances like a ghost at a séance. Before his death he designed his own monument including a graven image of himself, in a Jewish cemetery, and then promised his wife that he would try to communicate from the other side. Last year someone smashed the image—or to put it more magically, it disintegrated mysteriously; his widow never did get the message. But ever since his death fifty years ago, presumably from the aftereffects of a punch in the stomach, there have been a steady stream of rumors, séances, studies and biographies. This year, after his shade appeared in E.L. Doctorow's *Ragtime,* he has been materializing in scrapbooks, collections of magic posters, yet another biography, and even a psychoanalytic study.

Why this resurrection? Of course, there is renewed interest in magic accompanied by the usual show-biz hypes, and there is a surfeit of media nostalgia for the ragtime days, but Houdini does seem to bring out people's desire to find significance—or at least meaning—in his career. Doctorow calls him the last of the great shameless mother lovers and portrays him as a kind of unsuffering ragtime Jesus for the *Lumpenproletariat.* Bernard C. Meyer, a psychoanalyst, implies that Houdini brought bondage out of the closet and made it good clean fun for all the family. The Amazing Randi, himself an escape artist, is struck by Houdini's fascination and flirtation with death. But this explanation won't really do, since Bert Randolph Sugar's biography, in the same volume, offers the information that at least one insurance company was willing to cover Houdini on the grounds that there are no real hazards to being an escape artist. The imposing presence of Houdini is there all right but everyone seems to see something else besides. Houdini himself was not so sure about his achievement and at times thought he would be remembered mostly because he was the first person to fly an airplane in Australia. That may be because he was old-fashioned and believed in tangible, personal achievement after all: in doing something rather than being a symbol of something. Despite his enormous success in worshipping and taming the gods of publicity, he retained some skepticism to the end and even as he was dying envied his surgeon's skill and craft and denigrated himself as a mere fake.

During his triumphs most of his peers considered him mediocre as a professional magician and grudgingly admitted that his real abilities were those of an escapist and publicist. They jumped on the Houdini bandwagon because his fame was good for business. As a craftsman, illusionist, prestidigitator—the traditional virtues of the classical magician—he was often scorned. Indoors, his stage presence was execrable ("Music, maestro, please!"), but outdoors he was something else. His genius lay in dramatic escapes: from handcuffs, chains, straitjackets; from trunks, jails, convict ships, Siberian prison vans, even the grave itself. Plunged into cold rivers, squatting in milk cans, hanging upside-down in watery torture chambers or from skyscrapers he would always emerge triumphantly. He discovered early that reporters and photographers had to be utilized as he challenged the authorities, the jailers, the sheriffs, even "death" itself. He took magic off the stage and put it in the public media and thereby achieved what some tend to think of as immortality. Perhaps we ought to call it permanent celebrity.

Biographies of celebrities pose a problem, for how can anyone know the "facts" of a magician's life, for example? What truths can be arrived at after the press releases, the exaggerations, self-dramatizations and outright lies? Bernard Meyer's psychoanalytic study, subtitled "A Mind in Chains," cuts through the thicket since it is not so much a biography as an interpretation of Houdini's motives. As an analyst who has also written an extended study of Joseph Conrad, Meyer seeks to demonstrate the unconscious motivations behind the achievements and in doing so he also paints an uncomfortably accurate picture of many magicians' psyches. It is a relentlessly deterministic portrayal, so intent on displaying Houdini at the mercy of inner drives that it almost ignores the achievements. After all, Houdini became not a gangster but a showman ("giving happiness to millions," as they like to say), and we cannot know how much those millions also identified with his escapes from immigrant poverty, from cutting neckties in a factory, or simply from overcoming a theatrically crippling "dese and dose" pronunciation. Meyer, however, limits himself to examining the public's response to the spectacle of confinement and release: "the unbearable tension giving way to heaven-sent reassurance."

Despite a sophisticated and convincing thesis, Meyer's cast of characters is all too familiar to readers of psychobiography: the overwhelming mother reinforcing young Harry's tendency to confuse daydreams and reality; the unsuccessful father, depicted by the son as illustrious and accomplished; the passive and compliant wife. Much of the psychoanalytic plot hinges on such matters as the unconscious resentment of the opposite sex despite an outwardly stable marriage; the fanatical adoption and subsequent "unmasking" of surrogate fathers such as Robert-Houdin. Houdini's tricks, to Meyer, were "expressions of undisclosed impulses and suppressed imagination" which indicated his sadomasochistic approach to adult sexuality and revealed secret fantasies of depravity:

> Just as he enacted his obsession with death by encasing himself in boxes and caskets, and just as he advertised his affinity with crime by getting himself locked into cells and shackles, so did he acknowledge his kinship with madmen by surrendering his body to straitjackets.

Even the foray into flying in 1909 is explained as a way of coping with latent claustrophobia and fears of bodily annihilation. At its worst, this kind of heavy-footed analysis thuds along with familiar diction and confining reductiveness, all

Robert Bamberg, who comes from a long line of magicians, teaches English at Kent State University.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leaden on the ear and mind: narcissism, parricidal fantasies, imposter driven to establish the illusion of his own immortality.

But the essence of this book is nevertheless interesting, for Meyer points out that the very style in which Houdini presented his illusions of escape "evoked something of the nervous excitement associated with confinement and childbirth." He also observes that Houdini's brilliant employment of publicity succeeded because his effects were a symbolic depiction which involved his audience in the drama of birth, death and resurrection. For the man on the street, his victories signified the conquest of mutilation and death. At this level of interpretation, Meyer approximates Doctorow's attitude toward theatre acts which use the real world as their stage. The novelist, of course, is somewhat more terse and sardonic

> Every feat enacted Houdini's desire for his dead mother. He was buried and reborn, buried and reborn.

Dazzling, all this, and lots of fun, but one finally tires of being expected to show interest not in what people do but in what they represent or in the "significance" of their actions.

Bert Randolph Sugar keeps his theorizing on the back burner except for his conviction that Houdini was the perennial outsider trying always to come in. His relatively factual biography offers little startling new information, but there are plenty of illustrations. One wishes that biographers would put Houdini in clearer relationship to his peers despite his protestations that he was no mere magician. One also misses what he had in common with the world of magic in general, with the communality of its troupes, especially in the days before air travel. Stage conjurors traveled widely with their tight-knit entourages: assistants, managers, mechanics, "go-fers," wives and girl friends. These theatrical families, nomadic caravans journeying to strange lands, developed their own peculiar codes, required the strictest teamwork, on stage and off, and this led to complicated emotional entanglements as well as theatrical successes.

Of course, none of these books divulges any real magical "secrets." The Amazing Randi offers a somewhat breathless "Peek Behind the Curtain" but like any good professional magician he overpraises the master escapist and knows better than to reveal any of the ingenious devices which made the escapes possible. There is a good description of handcuffs and locks, but Randi seems apprehensive that if he were to tell too much the nation's jails would clear out overnight. Magicians, properly, are given not to exposure but to misdirection.

Curiously, though, Houdini himself became in the end a fanatical "exposer" of spiritualists and mediums, attacks which also achieved wide publicity. Meyer thinks that this was not simply a moral crusade but a means of ridding himself of his own irrationality and his own profound desires to reach his beloved mother beyond the grave. But after a few hours of reading this sort of thing one begins to feel that however salubrious these kinds of truth might have been for Houdini the man, they are not sufficient for biography—or fiction for that matter. As in therapy, they should inform but not overwhelm. Would that writers when they draw a character could always succeed in rendering what Joseph Conrad himself called the "trick" of self-assertion:

> the readiness of mind and the turn of the hand that come without reflection and lead the man to excellence in life, in art, in crime, in virtue and for the matter of that, even in love.

Now if a writer or biographer could capture *that,* Houdini would indeed be immortalized. □

The Renaissance Chameleon

VIDEO ART. *Edited by Ira Schneider and Beryl Korot. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 288 pp. $19.95. Paper $9.95.*

JONATHAN PRICE

Video art exists. This book proves it. In the last dozen years, artists have used television equipment to make such a wide range of artworks—environments, tapes, performances, conceptual pieces—that we can speak of a tradition, within which we find individual styles, personal development, and even criticism. But the networks keep 99.4 per cent of this video art off the air, and only a few educational stations, notably WGBH, Boston, KQED, San Francisco, and WNET, New York, broadcast it on a regular basis, so if you want to experience the art medium that comes after film, you may have to visit a museum or gallery. Edited by two video makers who helped put out *Radical Software,* the now defunct magazine chronicling experimental work, *Video Art* provides a rough but democratic survey, with twenty-two essays by critics and makers, plus seventy-three 2-page spreads filled with words and pictures by individual artists. Even if you know nothing, this anthology will give you a good feeling for the messy vitality and the healthy variety of this adolescent art.

Any fresh medium has to prove it can imitate language before our culture will accept the newcomer as worthy of art. As artists talked their way into the production facilities of educational stations, university workshops, underground labs, cable origination points, and Portapak communes, they were also articulating the alphabet of video: what the sound-and-picture system can do well, what you can "say," and what you can't. Testing characterizes this early period: challenging the gear to do the impossible, artists have smashed the camera while it was running, buried it in German soil, kept the lens half an inch away from the skin of a model's body. Yet even here, the artist needed words to explain. Eric Cameron says, "everything was worked out in words first, and the words were important. If I were inserting the lens of a camera into my mouth that might be clear from the image, but if I were walking with the camera fastened by its own lead to my ankle, only the words would indicate it was my left ankle—and then I would do another indistinguishable tape with it tied to my right." Stephen Beck broke into the back of his TV set, and rewired it. His re-engineered circuits allow him to manipulate each of the 525 lines of electrons on our screen, and he concludes, "one comes to be aware of a visual language at work, that is, a grammar, syntax, and order in the arrangement and sequence of images."

The attitude is contemporary: video is just one medium among many, and the artist is the person who shuffles through as many media as he may. Not mixed media, then, but multiple media. Not a painter or a sculptor but a renaissance chameleon: that is the current ideal. And since video is one of a series of media for such artists, their analysis of its capacities and failures becomes quite methodical, particularly in artificially created environments. How many empty rooms we see here, lit only by the TV box; how many careful circuits, in which a TV camera takes our picture

Jonathan Price is a conceptual artist and author of a forthcoming book, Video Pioneers *(New American Library).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as we enter the gallery, and, after a slight tape delay, transmits that image to the monitor on the far wall; how many TV sets piled in a pyramid, reporting back information (however dull and useless) about every other room in the museum. Such systems rely on video gear to demonstrate the way we process information from the world around us, emphasizing the similarity of video to our own nervous system. Some TV environments show you your own face distorted by time lag, or electronic warp. Some distort your sense of perspective, showing your back where you would expect your front, reducing your size, making you into a sub-miniature. Others turn the TV set to the wall, showing the flicker, as if to say, look, the TV set is a sculpture, an object, but it is an object that gives off light. These shows sound like physics demonstrations, and their catalogues choke with information-theory, and cybernetic jargon.

In fact, David Antin distinguishes two main styles of discourse about video art: "One, a kind of enthusiastic welcoming prose peppered with fragments of communication theory and McLuhanesque media talk; the other, a rather nervous attempt to locate the 'unique properties of the medium.' Discourse 1 could be called 'cyberscat' and Discourse 2, because it engages the issues that pass for formalism in the art world, could be called 'the formalist rap.' "

The formalist rap goes like this: video is not film, because the image is blurrier, because the tape allows instant replay, because the studios allow trick effects that cost too much even for Hollywood, because video is electronic, not chemical. Video is not conventional TV because individuals can make it, not just committees, because video does go beyond a realistic picture, because time gets divided differently, because video does not simply sell. Video art, then, does have unique properties, many of them spelled out by these rough-drawn experiments. Hermine Freed recalls what appealed to her when she first took up video: "Spontaneity, recording sight and sound at once all fit my life style in a way that painting could never do for me." Note the preoccupation with distinguishing one medium from another. "I take for granted aspects of video psycho-feedback." Nancy Holt, noticing how hard it is to tell what object that is on your home screen, at least for the first few seconds, began to do tapes in which she pointed to the difficulty of perception. We can see something through several holes, and we hear another viewer trying to guess what it is: a drainpipe? a jeep? "The viewer is drawn into interpreting what is being seen at the same moment as those commenting in the audio track." How quickly the pursuit of the unique qualities of video leads artists to words!

Having established a crude alphabet and a working grammar, video artists moved on to ape verbal forms like the letter, the diary, the dictionary definition, even dramatic dialogue. Instant replay, and easy reuse of a tape, encouraged some artists to talk to themselves at length, to kiss their own images on the screen, to reassemble their own images from drawings, artifacts, and old photos. Interior dialogue becomes a genre. Joan Jonas says, "Video is a device extending the boundaries of my interior dialogue to include the audience. The perception is of a double reality: me as image and as performer. I think of the work in terms of imagist poetry, disparate elements juxtaposed . . . alchemy." Other artists paint themselves, study themselves jumping, poking themselves, running down the West Side Highway. Vito Acconci eats himself, burns himself, all the while commenting, "the viewer faces a screen of me, an image under glass, me-in-a-fishbowl. Rather than being in a situation *with* me, the viewer is in front of a situation *about* me."

Some artists combine environment with interior dialogue in an effort to in-

NEW DIRECTIONS

DAVID ANTIN

Talking at the Boundaries. Pioneering collection of spontaneous, improvised "talk poems"—brilliant, witty, philosophical inquiries. Cloth, $11.95; NDP388, $3.95

ANTHOLOGY

New Directions 33. An eloquent spectrum of new and varied prose and poetry. $12.00; NDP 419, $3.95

MICHAEL McCLURE

Gorf. Play. "The reading is raucous, comedic, and poetic" (*Library Journal*). *Illustrated.* $8.50; NDP416, $1.95

GEORGE OPPEN

Collected Poems. The work of "a master craftsman" (*Village Voice*), among the 1975 NBA contenders. NDP418, $3.75

WISDOM SERIES

Companion volumes to Merton's
The Wisdom of the Desert

The Wisdom of the Jewish Mystics. Introductory selection by Alan Unterman. $6.50; NDP423, $2.45

The Wisdom of the Sufis. A representative anthology by Kenneth Cragg. $7.00; NDP424, $2.75

Please request complete catalog

NEW DIRECTIONS 333 Sixth Ave. N.Y. N.Y. 10014

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

duce the audience to meditate. Juan Downey's *Plato Now*, for instance, showed a number of people producing alpha waves through the use of biofeedback equipment, while the audience listened to selections from Plato, mirrors reflecting their faces, and TV monitors displaying their black-and-white images. Meditation as a feedback system parallels the loop of information that flows from camera to set and back to the audience, who are the image. Sometimes people do sit down and study themselves; more often they act out private daydreams in such situations.

Fantasies, mini-dramas emerge in the artworks. Eleanor Antin dreams of being a ballerina, dresses in a tutu, goes out to a boxcar, and meets a bum; the resulting tape resembles *The Little Match Girl* of the movies. Hermine Freed puts herself in the position of the woman in a number of famous paintings, producing a mini-slide show called *Art Herstory*. William Wegman grades a spelling quiz he has just given his dog. The dog watches as Wegman says, *"Park* was spelled correctly. Wait a minute. And you spelled *out* right. But when it came to *beach*, you spelled it *beech*, which is like . . . uh, well, there's a gum called Beech-nut gum, but the correct spelling is . . . we meant beach like the sand, like the ocean, so it should have been *beach*. (The dog whines.) You see, that's the difference. Well, okay, I forgive you, but remember it next time." Wegman's burlesque of language classes, commercials and news programs spins off conventional TV, itself a highly verbal vehicle.

Thus, even apparently private fantasies tend to end up studying the similarities and differences between video and other media. The hardest medium to challenge, it seems, has been conventional television. The hatred, and perhaps the envy, run so deep that when artists include snippets of regular broadcasts, the effect is always to emphasize in a satiric way how little real information gets communicated through the networks. In catalogues and symposia, where words count for more, the antagonism becomes sharper. Here is Julia Heyward's view: "Big sharks, preying on live time, buying satellites, laying cables, buying Hollywood, taking free-TV, making pay-TV with better reception, uninterrupted uncensored movies, and Muhammad Ali. But none of these operations will ever involve anyone in this book and nothing we do will ever affect anything they do. However, our time is dependent on their time. We'll make TV as a product (video disc) as opposed to a hobby, only if they let us. They could completely monopolize the production of video disc (disc being the only chance for the medium to be accessible to individual efforts and support itself). Who cares if it's RCA, MCA, NBC, CBS, ABC, or HBO who wins. They're all closed systems. Fish fish. That's the way the networks."

Richard Serra, who should know better, made one tape that is only words. "What television teaches through commercialism is materialistic consumption." Because the words attack conventional TV, some verbal people consider the tape radical. Yet as language it is dull, and as video it hardly exploits any of the possibilities of the medium. Propaganda—and language—has blanked out video art. Better in this line is the work of Douglas Davis. Davis argues that when TV was first made, cameras could have been packaged with the sets, but that the capitalist mind-set feared that the people might express themselves. Authority sends, audience receives: that is the way of regular TV. Video opens up to let other people on the air. Douglas Davis demonstrates this possibility in *Talk-Out*, and *Boston Image*, when he lets audience members talk and show themselves on the air, at the same time he does, uncensored. His work reminds us how rarely we see each other on TV, and how buffered, edited, canned and stifled are the brief moments when we see an ordinary person on the air, someone who is not an actor, or a media star. Davis insists that his work is also one person to one person, not corporation to mass audience; intimacy, he says, is anti-television.

Perhaps the networks sense this hostility on the part of the video artists, and refuse to air their work for reasons of political and economic self-defense. Most art gets filtered through expensive media like TV before the word gets out to the people. Hermine Freed says, "If paintings and sculpture are elitist and available to the very few, performances, body works, earthworks, and conceptualism tend to be even more elitist, albeit in another realm, as they are available only through information about them in the media. Very few have first-hand experience of these works. But, the argument goes, all that we know about any art is what we know through the media. It is rare in Peoria to see a real painting." But how easy it would be to show real video art in every corner of our country, if the television producers could relent, even for half an hour, in their pursuit of profit. While we wait for that glory day, we may have to content ourselves with glimpses in darkened galleries, and reports that come in forms as old-fashioned as books and magazines. □

Film Festival I / Harold Clurman

Art is, among other things, history. That is especially true of the theatre and the film. This struck me with particular force during the past week when I was seeing seven of nineteen or more feature offerings at the fourteenth New York Film Festival at Alice Tully Hall, Lincoln Center.

The choice of films thus far seems to be more interesting than it was on several other previous occasions. Even the films I found of slight entertainment value elicited my fixed attention. I didn't have to like them to find them worth while. I felt some of the pulse of the times in their faults as much as in their merits.

Perhaps I am generalizing beyond the statistical facts. The serious film makers today are not primarily concerned with "stories," narrative and sequentially developed situations. They are bent on conveying moods that suggest ideas. They wish to capture some essential reality without employing the methods of realism. It is in this respect that they, consciously or not, become history.

The film makers as they here present themselves appear to be holding their breath—apprehensively. No doubt about it, we are in a bad way! Even more than they record a breakdown, they reflect one. Protest is implied in their findings, but it is most often oblique or muffled. They cannot be dubbed propagandists for they are not sure of any solution. Insofar as they are "optimists," they tell us that we must live, but they are unhappy with the way we live. One finds this attitude in their films and rather complacently in the Festival audience. It is fashionable to be disconsolate. Hardly anyone is committed to a settled ideology because all ideologies at present are shaky. If these artists were to affirm any clear conclusion, it would be that capitalism is *kaput*. Nearly all the films are of foreign origin.

The pictures are not entirely grim. They are rarely truculent. They occa-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sionally provoke laughter and many are distinctly benevolent. That is certainly the case with François Truffaut's *L'Argent de Poche*, which means pocket money but is translated for purposes of commercial distribution as *Small Change*. It is an enchanting film. There is no plot, only a series of intertwined vignettes about children from 2 to 14 who live in the center of France.

I have never seen so many delightful looking kids anywhere. Truffaut is amused and tender, intent above all in affording pleasure through his treatment of them. Only one 12-year-old boy has a "problem." He is retarded in his studies, wayward in behavior, because he has been left in the care of his impoverished and criminally loony mother and grandmother who have neglected, beaten and martyred him. Otherwise there is something of a fairy tale about this smiling picture. There are hardly any shadows; it is unlikely that any of these youngsters will grow up unhappy. A 2-year-old, the cutest of the bunch, falls from a window six or seven stories high and lands unharmed in the grass with a grin on his adorable face.

Apart from the fun, the picture has its little "mission." Truffaut pleads for us to suffer little children to come unto us. With children such as these it is not difficult. We must respect them, Truffaut tells us, give them our most aware solicitude, for they are our future. So be it. Truffaut avoids complications, as is his right. His spirit acts as an emollient and we are grateful.

Also on the agreeable side, though with more than a hint of trouble ahead, is the Swiss-French language film, *Jonas Who Will Be 25 in the Year 2000*, directed and written by Alain Tanner in collaboration with the excellent English art critic and novelist John Berger. Both men are unconventional Marxists. Their thoroughly good-humored picture which boasts a most engaging cast is unequivocally opposed to the capitalist establishment. What it intimates, nay declares, is that capitalism is in a mess which sullies us all. It acknowledges that history is slow, that we are still a long way from revolutionary change and that in the halfway house of our society most of us are in a frazzle.

A professor of history gets fired for teaching in a wholly unacademic fashion, with little data but with many quotations from dissident thinkers of the past, beginning with Rousseau, and all tending to subversive criticism of the contemporary social scene. The professor is hardly an activist; he sees history as a continuity which it is a mistake to set down as a series of sharp breaks, and he voices a fear that strict party-line rebellions generally end in dictatorships as undesirable as what they replace.

An ex-Trotskyite is chiefly occupied with guilefully sabotaging a bank-inspired speculation which would dispossess the tenants of low-income homes. There is a printer, long out of work, who takes a job collecting manure to fertilize the truck farm of a couple who sell vegetables cheaply. He soon wearies of this employment and takes to teaching his employers' children and their little neighbors to draw, paint and to learn crafts of life-enhancing nature. Routine schooling, he insists, is rotten. He too is fired and must seek still another job in the "system" he despises.

His vegetable-growing employer (or co-worker?) is an odd bloke, preoccupied with the preservation of animal life—especially the whales—being destroyed by pollution and by their use in greedy commerce. Still another personage is a supermarket saleslady who undercharges the older customers and other deserving people. She is thrown in jail for the practice.

All these people have a comradely relationship to one another. They all abhor the porcine banker and his machinations, at one point they force him out of his office chair and replace him with a live pig which they tell him is a more fitting occupant. In short, there is little they can do to effect any marked social change but like most of those of the same mind, they do what little they can.

As for Jonas, the son newly born to the ex-printer and his dear wife, we see him in the last shot (marked 1980) defacing, erasing and perhaps drawing lines through the images of his forebears, which suggest their being tied together as a group to be remembered in kindness or in derision. In the meantime, inflation continues, the messy world rolls merrily on. It is a light-hearted message from troubled people; neither too hopeful nor despairing.

The German *Kings of the Road* (the translation of the original title is *In the Course of Time*), is directed by Wim Wenders in a somewhat somber key. Bruno, who travels to many small towns to repair defective projection machines in film houses, picks up Robert, a man who has lost his auto in a comic accident: going at top speed he has run it into a lake from which he can salvage only his valise and a few clothes. Robert is on his way back from Italy where he has broken with his wife.

Bruno has no other occupation or interest apart from his mechanical job. Before retiring at night he reads a book in English, listens to popular American music on record player or radio. He eats, sleeps, makes his toilet in his truck or in the fields. He is an orphan and there is no one to whom he is attached. In brief, he is an isolated being. He is lonely and especially so, he says, when making love, which we never see him do, even when there is the possibility. Robert is a research pediatrician. Several times he attempts to get his wife on the phone. Though he can't bear living with her, he explains, he calls her because he is afraid she might kill herself. He is estranged from his father whom he hasn't seen for years and whom on the way with Bruno he stops off to visit. He now feels impelled to call the old man to task for his crude treatment of his (Robert's) mother. The father excuses himself on the ground that his own mother died at his birth. Father and son embrace and part.

Neither Bruno nor Robert ever says much to the other, but in the course of their trip they develop a quizzically friendly feeling for each other. They too finally separate, Robert presumably heading back to his wife and Bruno on his cheerless way to more jobs on the road. They are wanderers in a desolate world.

The picture is "realistic" only symbolically. Admirably photographed in black and white, it visits many sparsely inhabited villages, rather mournful landscapes, no contented people. There are flecks of a sour humor but, partly because of its three-hour length, the film becomes monotonous, faintly boring. Monotony, however, is part of what it is about. We also infer—from what is said as well as from what is shown—

THE SPECIALIST

He no longer marvels at stars.
That's what.

Under the telescope's dome,
he crouches in a
concrete basement,
his head down,
decoding the graphs
a cosmic camera
drops in his lap.

In his own regional head
(it could be a dungeon)
he parses electrical impulses,
regroups the lines
(fudging a little)
into lakes and sandstorms,
peaks and tide wracks,
his whole territory
shut against trespassers.

Anne S. Perlman

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the director believes in films of a pristine sobriety and earnest intention. But what of its reality? I respect it and yet find myself both a little impatient and distrustful.

I know the picture is a metaphor, not a tableau or a graph. Still it seems to some extent to be a variation on a tendency prevalent for some years now to take a queer pleasure in endlessly repeating that we are born naked, die naked, and that there is very little to cherish or cling to in the interim. This attitude may be acceptable as an outcry against the progressive dehumanization in the way of the world today, but as a universal concept it is utterly false because it omits the recognition of the flesh and blood of actual existence. One does not live metaphysically; if we did, no one could even write the books, the play, the music, produce the films that proclaim the nullity of our experience. Even the worst life has life in it, and perhaps life's chief characteristic is that within it is a force which preserves it and which even under terrible conditions, makes us preserve it—makes us want to go on living.

This does not mean that I reject films, books and plays which paint the moral bleakness, the spiritual havoc of our day, but such works must not spring from an abstract disillusionment, an *a priori* negativism. One has to earn the right to "pessimism" through a fullness of experience rather than through its refusal or its absence.

The Japanese are convinced that they alone can understand themselves. They may be right. They are a fundamentally pagan people. Their paganism, now compounded with notions derived from Western industrialism, induces a special sort of "madness" which often appears to us almost incomprehensible. A wholly dispassionate and aesthetically valid judgment of the Japanese film *In the Realm of the Senses* is, therefore, not easily arrived at. The very manner of its announcement in the Festival's publicity refers to the "hard core" [of pornographic] aspect of the film, the "artistic treatment of explicit sex," and thus reveals something of the ambiguity with which it is perceived. U.S. Customs has seized it and for the time being it cannot be publicly shown.

The director, Nagisa Oshima, is a highly talented and thoroughly honest craftsman. I was much impressed by his *Boy*, seen at one of the earlier Festivals, and by *The Ceremony*, shown one evening as a substitute for those denied a viewing of *In the Realm of the Senses*. *The Ceremony* is a story, as fascinating as it is complex, of the only recently bygone days (around 1955) and its confusion with the Japan of today. Both these earlier Oshima films were fashioned as realism, but *In the Realm of the Senses*, for all its sexual specificity, should be viewed as a metaphor.

The sexual obsession of a geisha and (they say) a gangster, though we never see him do anything which should qualify him as such, dominates the film with hardly any letup. This makes it a "fable"—for permanent and unceasing sexual activity is a somatic impossibility. The two participants appear disconnected from all other occupations. (It is generally in such "metaphoric films" that hardly anyone is ever busy with a variety of ordinary pursuits.) What makes us momentarily overlook any literal objection to the metaphor here is that the two people engaged in fornication are very attractive in physique and countenance. They are also good actors. The camera work moreover is sumptuous, the decor and costuming exquisite.

The film's point is that the extremes of sexual desire move toward destructiveness, a longing for death, or the impulse to kill the sex partner. We cannot tell whether this betokens a psychologic perception on the director's part or a poetic insight, the relation of Eros to Thanatos.

All we know is that the story, if it can be called that, culminates in a brutal murder—strangulation and castration as part of or the climax to copulation—which is said to have occurred in Japan in 1936. A review I read in a reputable Paris magazine found *In the Realm of the Senses* in every way beautiful, a celebration of the act of love. It is certainly exciting but not always pleasantly so.

It is curious that of the seven films in the series I am writing about at the moment, the two from Italy are the only ones with any extended narrative line: One is Luchino Visconti's *Obsession* (1942), based on James Cain's *The Postman Always Rings Twice*. Though skillfully made, it is now of little importance. The other is *Illustrious Corpses*, directed by Francesco Rosi, a pseudo-whodunit of possible political significance—for Italians. Rosi is an able and courageous director of left-wing leanings, but this picture strikes me as a lushly served farrago of cinematic condiments. I conclude from this that everything (except food and wine) is at infernal cross-purposes in Italy today, and that consummate corruption and muddleheadedness engulf Right, Left and Center. That may constitute a kind of general comment on the local (Italian) state of affairs, but in the films will hardly do in any other way. □

NURSE

Midnight. The water ticking into the sink,
each drop a tiny knife that severs time
from time. She watches, wondering what there is

to watch for, watches as her invalid—
breath fading, mask of skin disintegrating—
lapses into his mattress.

She's young, stiff, careful. He's old
and dull as a seal, gray tatters
flung like a curse across the pillow.

But what should she fear?
And yet when the clock tolls two
it seems to her his death is everywhere:

the windows rattle with it and the sofa sags,
rugs shred, clocks whir, the ceilings
blur and lower, even trees outside the house

bend in the heavy wind surrounding her, as if
the night itself were her patient, long
and slack, and she were

locked into black laborious lungs,
cells thick with some unspoken hate
that will never breathe her out.

Sandra M. Gilbert

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FILMS / Robert Hatch

Quite early in *Marathon Man*, John Schlesinger directing, Dustin Hoffman and Laurence Olivier co-starring, someone leaves a carriage containing a doll in a Paris shopping street. The camera comes in close on the doll's face, its eyes open in a baleful stare and, bang, the bomb it conceals goes off. Those eyes, presumably a ten-second warning signal for the carriage pusher, is what you might call a visual wow. But who the bomber might be, or how related to the plot, I never did find out.

That's typical of *Marathon Man*; it is a picture full of wows but lamentably short of hows, whys, or whos. I left the theatre in some confusion and bought a copy of the paperback to see if that would instruct me. Not much. The doll is not even mentioned. Other than that the movie keeps veering away from the novel, as though its producers were a little nervous on the subject of plagiarism. But that only adds to the puzzlement, for William Goldman wrote both versions. However, the basic plot, insofar as there is one, seems to be the same, and as obscure, in both cases. I am forced to conclude that those responsible feared it would not withstand more light.

Dustin Hoffman is named Levi and known as Babe. He is a brilliant graduate student in history at Columbia and intends to write a thesis that will exonerate his father, a renowned professor of history who killed himself after McCarthyism destroyed his career. His brother (Roy Scheider), known variously as Doc and Scylla the Rock, works for The Division, a Washington agency which, according to one of its "commanders" named Janeway (William Devane), is called in "when the gap gets too wide between what the FBI can manage effectively and what the Secret Service, say, can bring off." Wow! I bet none of you ever heard of The Division.

But probably you have heard of Christian Szell (Olivier), or someone very much like him—a Nazi beast living hidden in the jungles of Paraguay. This Szell, in his days as the implacable dentist of Auschwitz, collected an astonishing horde of excellent diamonds from his Jewish victims. He lives now in furtive luxury by selling them off bit by bit, Doc the Rock and Janeway acting as his couriers because he feeds The Division information as to the whereabouts of other war criminals. Or so Janeway says, but who can believe Janeway? After Szell comes to New York and kills Doc with a spring knife half as long as a cavalry saber that he hides up his sleeve, Janeway collaborates in the torture and attempted murder of Babe, who is thought to "know something." That's extreme behavior for even the most dedicated of U.S. counter-intelligence hit men, and I decided, without much conviction, that this commander in the most silent of services is in fact a henchman of the satanic dentist.

I leave out a number of details—an Oriental master of the garrote; a homosexual jewel fence, who gets his throat slit by unseen hands at the Paris Opera (in the book, Doc kills him in Edinburgh); a beautiful girl who pretends to be Swiss but is really German; a gang of young Puerto Rican delinquents who suddenly become "good guys" when Babe needs them; some scenes of unethical dentistry in a Hudson River waterfront loft, and a climactic scene in the pumping station of the Central Park reservoir where Babe finally disposes of the unspeakable Szell. However, the moral of the story seems to be that, whereas it is fine patriotic work to trot around the world killing people whom the Secret Service, "say" (that must be a tacit reference to the CIA), is incompetent to eliminate, it is probably unwise to peddle diamonds for an old Nazi with a knife up his sleeve—and certainly foolish to cheat him in the process. What this has to do with the suicide of Professor Levi or the desire of his younger son to exceed Nurmi's record as a marathon runner I must

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Act of August 12, 1970: Section 3685, Title 39, United States Code)

1. Title of publication: THE NATION.
2. Date of filing: September 30, 1976.
3. Frequency of issue: Weekly (except for omission of five issues).
   A. No. of issues published annually: 47.
   B. Annual subscription price: $21.00.
4. Location of known office of publication (Street, city, county, state, zip code) 333 Sixth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10014.
5. Location of the headquarters or general business offices of the publishers (Not printers) 333 Sixth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10014.
6. Names and addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor
   Publisher (Name and address):
   James J. Storrow Jr., 333 Sixth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10014.
   Editor (Name and address):
   Blair Clark, 333 Sixth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10004.
   Executive editor (Name and address):
   Robert L. Hatch, 333 Sixth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10014.
7. Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given.) Name: The Nation Associates, Inc. (no stockholders), 333 Sixth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10014; James J. Storrow Jr., Pres. and Treas., 333 Sixth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10014.
8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities (If there are none, so state): None.

10. Extent and Nature of circulation	Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Actual Number of Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date
A. Total no. copies printed (Net Press Run)	27,846	27,698
B. Paid circulation		
1. Sales Through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors and Counter Sales	920	940
2. Mail Subscriptions	23,420	23,518
C. Total Paid Circulation	24,340	24,458
D. Free Distribution By Mail, Carrier or Other Means, Samples, Complimentary, and other Free Copies	176	185
E. Total Distribution (*Sum of C and D*)	24,516	24,643
F. Copies Not Distributed		
1. Office Use, Left-Over, Unaccounted, Spoiled After Printing	1,350	1,300
2. Returns From News Agents	1,980	1,940
G. Total (*Sum of E & F—should equal net press run shown in A*)	27,846	27,698

11. I certify that the statements made by me are correct and complete. ➧ Signature of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager or Owner.
JAMES J. STORROW Jr., Publisher

12. For completion by publishers mailing at the regular rates (Section 132.121, Postal Service Manual).
39 U. S. C. 3626 provides in pertinent part: "No person who would have been entitled to mail matter under former section 4359 of this title shall mail such matter at the rates provided under this subsection unless he files annually with the Postal Service a written request for permission to mail matter at such rates."
In accordance with the provisions of this statute, I hereby request permission to mail the publication named in item 1 at the reduced postage rates presently authorized by 39 U. S. C. 3626.
(Signature and title of editor, publisher, business manager, or owner)
JAMES J. STORROW Jr.
Publisher

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leave to more astute minds. I'm wide-eyed, like the doll, but at least my appetite for bloodletting has been momentarily satisfied.

The presentation of this nonsense is as elegant as its content is fatuous, with some fine, hyper-realistic photography of New York and Paris, elegant wardrobes and instructive 007 prattle about vintage wine. Dustin Hoffman does again his impersonation of a homicidal mouse, and Olivier, with the help of a pair of very thick lenses, attains the final pinnacle of the master criminal cliché. Sir Laurence is not only one of the age's most eminent actors but, I begin to suspect, one of the most cynical. □

LITERARY SERVICES

"GRANTS & AWARDS Available to American Writers." 1976 edition. $2.00 from P.E.N. American Center, 156 Fifth Ave., NYC 10010

PUBLICATIONS

READ "MANEATER." Satire for the outraged, the outcast, and those on the run. Monthly. $2.50/yr. Money drop: Box 21783, Seattle, Wa. 98111.

DIVORCE BADGERS by Arlene Melville—A Panorama Reprint—25¢. REAL NEW BOOKS, Box 1432, Gen. P.O. NYC 10001.

AT LAST a progressive digest! Alternative paper offers unique synthesis of political world & Aquarian frontier. 5-issue trial sub., $1. "Both Sides Now," Box 13079, Jacksonville, Fla. 32206.

'TECHNOCRACY—Technological Social Design' available for one dollar from Technocracy, Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, Ohio 44874.

READ THE GUARDIAN—newsweekly gives MARXIST viewpoint on national and international news. Special 8-week trial subscription, $1.00. GUARDIAN, Dept. N, 33 West 17th Street, New York City 10011. (Full year $12.50.)

WEEKENDS

FRIENDLY, INFORMAL—Willowbrook Inn, Warwick, N.Y. On Appalachian Trail, woodlands hiking trails. Near Vernon Valley & Great Gorge ski center. Homecooking. Tel: (201) 853-7728.

PERSONALS

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS—the national dating service for the intelligentsia of all ages. **Box AE, Swarthmore, Pa. 19081.**

JUST AS criminals approach withered justice, man without friendship must face life as a wounded beast accepts the forest. Friendship is larger than the forest. If anyone can acknowledge my existence, please write: Raynard Hawkins #139-993, POB 69, London, Ohio 43140.

INTELLIGENT WOMAN, 50's, minor physical handicap, wishes to contact other Handicappeds. Possible forming of intercity club. Free Membership. Write: Ms. Lorentzen, P.O. Box 933, Philadelphia, Penna. 19105.

INDIGENOUS MUSIC / Nat Hentoff

The way, thirty-five years ago, some of us youngsters (and a good many elders, though somehow never our parents) kept from being bored on Sundays in Boston was to attend what used to be quite loosely called Dixieland sessions. A single blazing star—Wild Bill Davison, Sidney Bechet—would be imported each week from New York, but the driving continuum was supplied by a local band. None of its members was at all famous. Some gigged during the week wherever they could, from dance bands in Chinese restaurants to bar mitzvahs. Some worked day jobs—a bank vice president, a teacher, a cabdriver. Yet, when they got together on Sundays and holidays and once in a while as the opening act at a concert, they could sound so exhilarating as to make us regionally proud. And unlike the Red Sox, our other source of pride, the home-grown jazzmen never had a bad season.

There were similar bands, traditional bands, around the country. The players ranged in age from the early 20s to the 40s and 50s. What they had in common was a most knowledgeable affection for the collected recorded works of Louis Armstrong, King Oliver, Sidney Bechet and other jazz patriarchs, as well as selective admiration for some of the later swing-era improvisers. These local jongleurs knew they were never going to win any *Down Beat* polls but they were hooked for life on this music, those Sunday sessions being even more important to them than they were to us.

Gradually, in some cities, their audiences dwindled. The next round of jazz-struck kids had ears only for bop (early modern jazz), and considered these traditional players at least as obsolete as the icebox. Then, when it was time for another generation of new listeners, most of them rushed gleefully into the loudly ecumenical land of rock. Black audiences had never taken to this predominantly white music to begin with, and certainly did not mourn its seemingly imminent passing. I didn't think I cared either, for all the mellow memories of those Boston Sundays happily consumed with chorus after chorus of *Sweet Lorraine, Basin Street Blues, Ja-Da* and *I Wish I Could Sh'mmy Like My Sister Kate.* After all, jazz had moved on, and while the recordings of the key innovators (all of them black) were still fresh, these local people had always been second-liners, joyful as they were.

And joyful they still are, I am somewhat surprised to find. Most of the Sunday bands of my youth have vanished; but there still are regional combos, still playing King Oliver and Jelly Roll Morton and now even Duke Ellington. One of the best of them, large-spirited, precise, abounding in hot grace, is the New Black Eagle Jazz Band. They know how to mount and keep mounting to a satisfying climax; their soloists include an extraordinarily resilient and even lyrical tuba player (Eli Newberger), a robust, strong-willed soprano saxophonist (Stan McDonald) and a lusty trombonist (Stan Vincent). The leader, cornetist Tony Pringle, plays a breathy, swaggering and nearly always compelling horn.

As in the old days of Sunday jazz, these manifestly fervent traditionalists double by day as regular citizens—the president of an ad agency, a dentist, an architect, a psychologist. And that agile tuba player is also a pediatrician. And as in the old days, they make the venerable songs they play—*Wild Man Blues, Skit-Dat-De-Dat, The Mooche, Snake Rag*—surge into life again. There is such pervasive warmth in their music, such pleasure in the act of shaping it, that their considerable skills positively glow—as can be heard on their albums, *The New Black Eagle Jazz Band in Concert* and *The New Black Eagle Jazz Band in New Orleans,* both available on Black Eagle Records, Ltd., 128 Front Street, Marblehead, Mass. 01945.

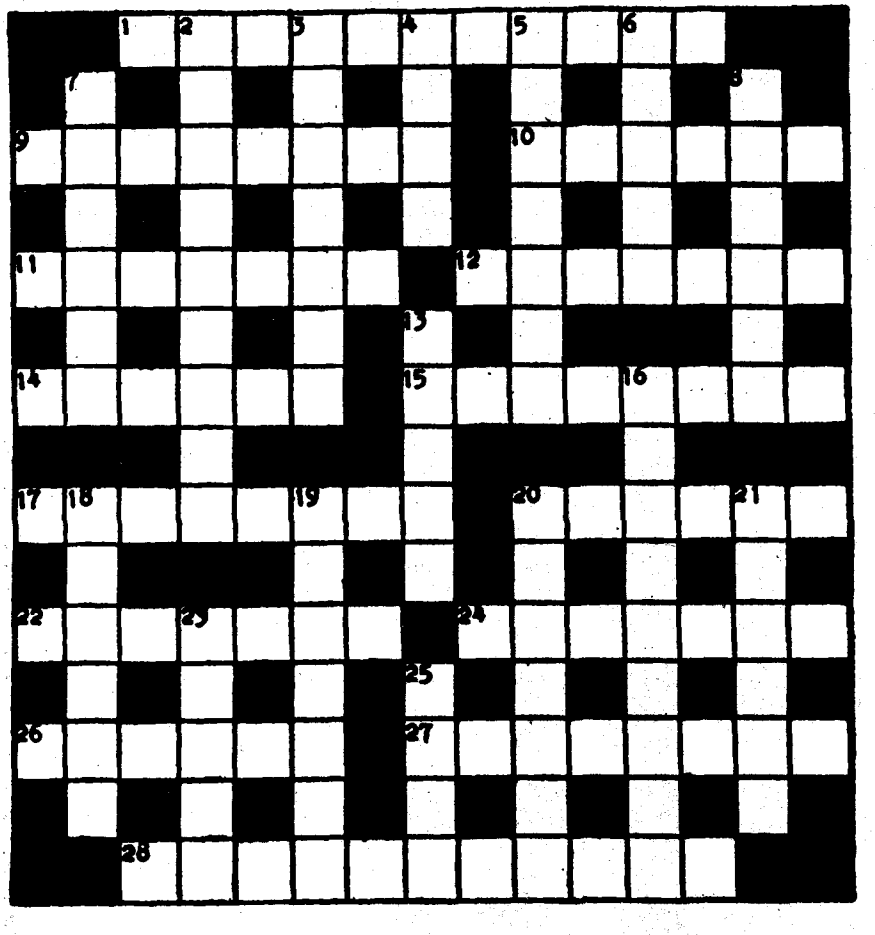
Another ebullient regional band is Eddie Bayard's Bourbon Street Five, based in Dayton, Ohio, and carrying on the jazz riverboat tradition by often playing on the *Delta Queen* as it moves magisterially down the Mississippi. Bayard is the least intriguing soloist in the band, but *Steamboat Journey* (Rite Record Productions, Inc., Cincinnati, Ohio 45215) is worth having for the liquid, full-bodied clarinet of Ralph Unterborn; the gruff, supple trombone of Bob Butters (a sales engineer in daylight); and the unexpectedly powerful banjo of Vic Tooker. Musically, this is a level below the New Black Eagle Jazz Band, but it would be a shame never to hear, even once, Ralph Unterborn's classic Dixieland clarinet.

There are still more local traditional combos around the country, and I shall report on them from time to time. I may be wrong, but I think that this is the last generation of jazz players wholly devoted to listening backwards. Most kids with a horn these days start with such old-timers as Miles Davis and John Coltrane. A few know about Louis Armstrong; but if they think of Dixieland at all, they associate it with Lester Maddox. So, when these benign rousterers are gone, they'll be all gone. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 1651

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Its aim, if successful, would not imply a dry subject. (5,6)
9, 12 and 7 down Salt air enjoyed some time ago. (8,4,3,6)
10 A large number in articles finished by the spy agency might still be growing. (6)
11 Expressed contempt at this, with such an oaf getting dined around. (7)
12 See 9 across
14 Part of the course for either southern drivers or diners. (6)
15 Coolidge, for instance, put out of countenance, though the answer might hold water. (8)
17 It might be just one shot out of many taken. (4,4)
20 This cloth is always an inch misplaced, at first. (6)
22 Not an everyday description. (7)
24 Sat *inter alia*—in another country, in fact. (7)
26 Iron with this application—that should stiffen things. (6)
27 Not those buzzing sounds one hears—they depend on the listener. (8)
28 It wouldn't be part of the loser's code, symbolically. (1,3,7)

DOWN

2 How some poor travelers go on and on. (2,7)
3 Avoids chess, we see, with some difficulty. (7)
4 Like 25, ripe for a change, somewhat like a mole. (4)
5 Referring to everything out there? (7)
6 and 21 down Such talk would be even more general than that of the Walrus, with a surprised expression. (2,3,6)
7 See 9 across
8 They're the sort of 21 that one might find seasonally short. (6)
13 See 25 down
16 In general context, deserves one star. (9)
18 Light part of the design, it emerges. (6)
19 The king holds an article used for making shoes, for example. (7)
20 Scarcely the innocent party. (7)
21 See 6 down
23 Found at the bottom of a letter, perhaps. (5)
25 and 13 The extent to which a fairy might range? (7 might see through it.) (9)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1650

ACROSS: 1 Whistle stop; 11 Trod; 12 Minaret; 13 Thieves; 15 Ringlets; 16 Rained; 18 Repair; 21 Distance; 24, 6 and 9 The Call of the Wild; 26 Riposte; 28 Scat; 29, 10 and 23 A Tale of Two Cities; 30 Amen; 31 The Third Man. DOWN: 2 Hydrangea; 3 Slovene; 4 Late; 5 Smother; 7 Bikini; 8 Cohere; 14 Aside; 17 Inamorata; 19 Ethics; 20 Reliant; 22 Stipend; 25 Catch; 27 Taxi.

classified

$1.50 per line / 2 line minimum/ 6 words (45 characters or spaces) per line/ Payment in advance must accompany all orders for less than three consecutive insertions. Classified Display: $20 per inch/ one inch minimum. Send to The Nation, 333 Sixth Ave., N.Y.C. 10014.

POSITIONS WANTED

POSITION WANTED: Creative, intelligent & competent woman seeks career position in publishing, writing, or teaching. Published poet, prose, illustrator & journalist. Experienced in editorial, layout, filmmaking, counseling, teaching, research. B.A. Psych. Can relocate. S. Gilman, 1605 B. Alamo St., Austin, Tex. 78702.

B.A. IN POLITICAL Science. Phi Beta Kappa. Willing to relocate and continue studies if necessary. Salary of secondary importance to meaningful position. Michael Ringer, 5441 Central Detroit, Mich. 48210. (313) 554-2941.

STUDENT, community organizer seeks job, livable income. 24, White, male. Exp. research, writing, edited newsletter, layout/design: posters to pamphlets, ads, all media. BA polit. soc., art hist.; grad work, polit. econ. Must stay New England. DM, 31 Elizabeth St., Northampton, Ma. 01060.

HELP WANTED

WOMEN'S COMMUNITY Health Center, open 9 months, needs physicians for gynecology and abortion clinics; possible expansion to family practice. Good opportunity for involvement with progressive alternative health care in university community. Salary negotiable. Write or call: WCHC, 819 Lincoln Way, Ames, Iowa 50010; (515) 232-9078.

OFFERINGS

CEDRIC BELFRAGE'S "The American Inquisition, 1945-1960"—"Best account of those days" (Kempton, N.Y. Review), "One of the most thorough jobs of its kind in our literature" (Henry Commager), "Deadening" (Hentoff, N.Y. Times), "Witty, literate, vastly informed" (Pub. Weekly), "Very effective, cool, ironical documentation" (Matthew Josephson, Nation). While they last, $5 postpaid from author, Apdo. 630, Cuernavaca, Mor., Mexico.

PRESIDENTIAL POSTER Puzzles proudly presents a participatory pre-election Poster Puzzle, positively predicting the people's preference. Please send $1 American to Box 1976, Katonah, N.Y. 10536. Prompt pre-election delivery promised.

CONTEMPORARY MOVEMENTS: Ecology, Indians, magazines, records, correspondence courses. Details Box 1028-N, Scottsdale, Az. 85252.

SPANISH

LEARN SPANISH. If you really want to learn Spanish quickly, fluently and correctly, and if you have the courage and stamina for intensive and disciplined study, come for at least one month to Cuernavaca Language School of CIDOC. First month $300. Following four weeks $200. Private tutor available at $350 for 50 hours. Details: Apdo. 480. Cuernavaca, Mexico.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NATION

Who Reads It?

The Nation has always inspired respect for its intellectual integrity. I look upon its praise as a most valued endorsement of an artist's effort, whether of the arts, of the theatre, or of the films. . . .
Charles Chaplin

For one hundred years *The Nation* has lent its voice to the causes of freedom and progress. . . .
Hubert H. Humphrey

The Nation . . . and its contributors have been willing to take the risks—the risks of castigation and the risks also of being wrong—as well as having the satisfaction of pointing the way. . . .
Eugene J. McCarthy

Year in and year out *The Nation* has stood like a rock of truth, clarity and witty good judgment in the field of publishing opinion and fact. . . .
Edmund G. Brown Sr.

The Nation has survived a hundred years of critics and detractors on a diet of controversy and stimulating—but often exceedingly unpopular—causes. It has survived and grown because there has continued to be a vital need for its voice. . . .
Sen. Jacob K. Javits

A century ago, the United States committed itself to the task of safeguarding individual rights for its individual citizens. *The Nation* has never let go concerning itself with these rights and with individual people. . . .
John V. Lindsay

The publication has provoked both thought and controversy, both of which are essential in a democracy such as ours. . . .
Sen. William Proxmire

Never complacent and often controversial in its independent promotion of liberal journalism, *The Nation*'s voice remains loud and clear . . . .
Sen. Edward M. Kennedy

The Nation continues to be . . . the supreme American journal of social, political and literary contemporaneousness. . . .
Erskine Caldwell

The Nation has been the conscience monitor for all who believe in the cause of liberalism.
Dore Schary

AND: Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman, Ralph Nader, William Saroyan, John Kenneth Galbraith, Sen. Frank Church, and many more.

Please enter a subscription to **The Nation** as checked below for:
☐ 1 year (47 issues) $21.00 ☐ 2 years (94 issues) $37.00

Name (please print) _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send a gift subscription to:
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

THE NATION
333 Sixth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10014

10/23/76

When Subscribing You May Send One Or More Gift Subscriptions For Just $18.00 Each

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED